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FLORENTINE CODEX

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Florentine Codex

General History of the Things of New Spain

FRAY BERNARDINO DE SAHAGUN

[p. ii]

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Book 3–The Origin of the Gods

Translated from the Aztec into English, with notes and illustrations

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IN THIRTEEN PARTS

PART IV

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BOOK THREE—THE ORIGIN OF THE GODS

Libro tercero, del prin
cipio que tuujeron los
dioses.

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Del Principio de los Dioses

HERE BEGINNETH THE THIRD BOOK

NICAN PEOA INJC EY AMOSTLI.

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First Chapter, in which it is told how the gods had their beginning.

How the gods had their beginning and where they began is not well known. But this is plain, [that] there at Teotihuacan, as they say, in times past, when yet there was darkness, there all the gods gathered themselves together, and they debated who would bear the burden,[1] who would carry on his back—would become—the sun. (This hath already been told elsewhere.) And when the sun came to arise, then all [the gods] died that the sun might come into being.[2] None remained who had not perished (as hath been told). And thus the ancient ones thought it to be.

Injc ce capitulo, vncan mjtoa in quenjn otzintique in teteuh.

In quenjn tzintique in teteuh in canpa tzintique, amo vel macho, ca ie iehoatl in panj ca in vncan teutioacan, quitoa in canjn yn iqujn, in oc iovaian vncan mocentlalique, in ixquichtin teteu, yoan mononotzque, in aqujn tlatlquiz, in aqujn tlamamaz, in aqujn tonatiuh iez, (Ynjn ca ie omjto cececnj,) auh in iquac in omomanaco tonatiuh, niman muchintin vncan mjcque, inca muzcalti in tonatiuh: aiac mocauh in macamo mjc (in oiuh mjto). auh in juh qujmatia vevetque.

TO VITZILOPOCHTLI the Mexicans paid great honor.

The following they believed of his beginning, his origin. At Coatepec, near Tollan, there always had dwelt and lived a woman named Coatl icue,[3] mother of the Centzonuitznaua. And their elder sister was named Coyolxauhqui.

And this Coatl icue performed penances there; she swept; she was charged with the sweeping. Thus

JN VITZILOPUCHTLI, in cenca qujmaviztiliaia in Mexica.

Yvin in qujmatia, in itzintiliz, in ipeoaliz, ca in coatepec, yvjcpa in tullan, cemilhujtl quitztica, vmpa nenca cihoatl, itoca Coatl icue: innan centzonuitznaoa. auh inveltiuh, itoca, Coiolxauh.

auh in iehoatl coatl icue, vncan tlamaceoaia, tlachpanaia, quimocuitlaviaia, in tlachpanalli. Jnjc tlama-

1. *Tlachpanli* (here probably a copyist's error) appears as *tlaxpanli* in the corresponding passage in the *Real Palacio MS.* Cf. *supra*, *supra*. In Alonso de Molina: *Vocabulario de la lengua mexicana* (Julio Platzmann, ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1880).

2. The story appears later in Sahagún's *Historia* (Book VII). In simple terms, the most usual version is told in Alfonso Caso: *La religión de los aztecas* (Mexico: Imprenta Mundial, 1936), pp. 136. An interesting variant appears in Juan de Torquemada: *Segunda parte de los veinte i un libros rituales i monarchia indiana* (Madrid: Nicolas Rodrigo Franco, 1723), pp. 77-9; and another in "La leyenda de los soles" (in *Códice Chimalpopoca*; Mexico: Imprenta Universitaria, 1945), pp. 121.

3. Mother of the gods—that is, of the sun (Huitzilopochtli), moon (Coyolxauhqui), and stars (Centzonuitznaua)—according to Caso (*op. cit.*, pp. 38-9. He states: *"Ya hemos visto como una de ella malparieron Huitzilopochtli en el nacimiento en que los estrellas, capitaneadas por la Luna, pretendían matarlo porque no creían en el prodigio de la concepción divina, y como el Sol-Huitzilopochtli nace de su vientre armado del rayo de luz y mata a la Luna y a las estrellas."*

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did she do penance at Coatepetl. And once, as she swept, feathers, as it were, a ball of feathers, descended upon her. Then Coatl icue snatched it up and placed it in her bosom. And when she had swept, [when] she came to take the feather [ball] which she had placed in her bosom,[4] she found nothing. Thereupon Coatl icue conceived.[5]

cemaia, in coatepec. auh ceppa in iquac tlachpanaia, in coatl icue ipan oalxtemoc ihuitl, iuhquin ihuitelolotli, njman concuitiuetz in Coatl icue: ixillan contlali, auh in ontlachpan njman cõcuizquja yn ivitl, in ixillan oquitlalica aoc tle quittac, njman ic otztic in Coatl icue.

And when the Centzonuitznaua saw that their mother was already with child, they were very wrathful. They said: "Who brought this about? Who hath made her heavy with child? She hath dishonored and shamed us!"

auh in oquittaque in centzonvitznaoa in jnnan ie oztli, cenca qualanque quitoque ac oq'chivili y? aquin ocoztí? techavilq'xtia, techpinauhtia.

And their elder sister, Coyolxauhqui, said to them: "My elder brothers, she hath affronted us; we must slay our mother, the wicked one who is already with child. Who is the cause of what is in her womb?"

auh in jnveltiuh in Coiolxauh: quimjlvi noquichtioan techavilquixtia çan ticmjctia in tonan, in tlauelilloc in ie oztli: ca oquichivili in itic ca.

And when Coatl icue learned of this,[6] she was sorely afraid and deeply saddened. And her child, who was in her womb, comforted her. He spoke and said to her: "Have no fear; already I know [what I shall do]."

auh in oquima Coatl icue: cenca momauhti, cenca motequipacho. auh in jconcuh in jtic catca quiiollaliaia, quioalnotzaia quilhujaia, maca ximomauhti ie ne njcmati,

When Coatl icue heard the words of her son, she was much consoled by them and her heart was eased of what had so terrified her.

in oquicac in Coatl icue, in itlatol in jconcuh, cenca ic moiollali, motlali yn jiollo, iuhquin juhcan tlama.

And upon this, when the Centzonuitznaua had assembled for their deliberations, when they had made up their minds that indeed they would slay their mother because verily she had brought dishonor, much did they harden themselves; they were exceeding wroth. As if bursting her heart, Coyolxauhqui greatly incited and aroused the anger of her elder brothers, that they might slay their mother. And the Centzonuitznaua thereupon arrayed and prepared themselves for war.

auh in ie iuhq', in centzonvitznaoa in oquicẽtlalique in jntlatol, in oquicemjtoq ica quimictizque in jnnan, ichica ca otlapinauhti, ça çenca muchicaoaia, cenca qualanja, iuhquj in quiçaia in jiollo, in Coiolxauhquj, cenca quinioleoaia, quiniollococoltiaia in joquichtioa, in macuele miquj in jnnan. auh in cẽtzonvitznaoa, njman ie ic mocẽcaoa, moiaochichioa.

And these Centzonuitznaua were like seasoned warriors. They wound and twisted [their hair]; they bound their hair about their heads [in warrior array].

auh in ichoantin centzonvitznaoa, iuhq'n tequjoaque catca tlacujaia, tlaquanicujaia, quiquanicujaia in jntzon, in jnquatzon.

And [there was] one named Quauitl icac, who was a traitor; that which the Centzonuitznaua said, he then told and brought as news to Uitzilopochtli.

auh ce itoca Quavitl icac, necnc quitlalitinenca in itlatol, in tlein quitooaia centzonvitznaoa, njman conilhujaia, cononotzaia in Vitzilobuchtli.

And Uitzilopochtli said to Quauitl icac: "Watch well what they do, my dear uncle, and pay careful heed; for already I know [what I shall do]."

auh in vitzilobuchtli: quioalilhujaia in Quavitl icac: cenca tleticmomachitia notlaxtine, vel xonmotlacaquihti ic ne njcmati.

And finally, when [the Centzonuitznaua] were determined and of one mind in their deliberations

auh in ie iuhquj in iequene oquicemjtoque, in ocontetix in jntlatol, injc quimjctiztque, injc quitlatla-

4. Sahagún's corresponding Spanish text has "en el seno donde a la hendjan."
5. Quetzalcoatl is, in some stories, also said to have been miraculously born. See Caso (*op. cit.*, p. 27), which, however, refers to a virgin birth.
6. Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 43) says that one of Coatl icue's sons told her of the plot to kill her.

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that they would put to death and dispose of their mother, they thereupon set forth. Coyolxauhqui led them. Much did they exert and drive themselves. They were in war array, which was distributed [among them]; all put in place their paper array, the paper crowns,[7] their nettles,[8] painted paper streamers, and they bound bells to the calves of their legs. These bells were called *oyoalli*. And their darts [had] barbed points.

tinque in jnnan, njman ie ic vi teiacana in Coiolxauhquj, vel muchichicaoa, mocecenquetza, moiaochichiuhque, motlamamacaque, intech quitlalique in jmamatlatquj, in anecuiotl, intzitzicaz, amatitech pipilcac, tlacujlolli, yoan in coiolli incoxtitech quijlpique, injn coiolli mjtoaia oiovalli, yoan in jnmiuh tlatzontectli,

Thereupon they set forth; they went in order, in columns, in armed display, moving with deliberation. Coyolxauhqui led them.

niman ie ic vi, tetecpantivi, tlatlamantitivi, tlaiiecotivj, momamâtivi, teiacana in Coiolxauhquj.

And Quauitl icac thereupon hastened to run up [the hill], that he might warn Uitzilopochtli. He said: "Already they are coming."

auh in Quavitl icac, njman ie ic motlalotitleco, in quinonotzaz in Vitzilobuchtli quilhuj ca ie vitze,

Then Uitzilopochtli spoke: "Watch well where they come."

njman quito in Vitzilobuchtli, vel xontlachie can ie vitze

Thereupon Quauitl icac said to him: "Already they are at Tzompantitlan."

njman ie ic conilhuja in Quavitl icac: ca ie tzonpantitlan,

Again Uitzilopochtli addressed him: "Where now do they come?"

ie no ceppa quioalilhuja in Vitzilobuchtli, cā ie vitze,

Then [Quauitl icac] said to him: "Already they are at Coaxalpan."

njman conilhui ca ie coaxalpan vitze,

Once more Uitzilopochtli called out to Quauitl icac: "See where they now come."

ie no ceppa quioalilhuj in Vitzilobuchtli in Quavitl icac: tla xontlachie can ie vitze,

Then [this one] said to him: "Already they are at Apetlac."

njman ic conilhui ca ie apetlac,

Once again [Uitzilopochtli] spoke forth to him: "Where now do they come?"

ie no ceppa quioalilhui, can ie vitze,

Then Quauitl icac answered him: "Already they have come half way[9] up the slope of the mountain."

njman conilhuj in Quavitl icac: ca ie tlatlacapan iativitze.

And Uitzilopochtli again spoke forth to Quauitl icac; he said: "Watch where they now come."

Auh in vitzilobuchtli: ie no ceppa quioalilhuj, in Quavitl icac. quilhuj tla xontlachia can ie vitze.

Then Quauitl icac said unto him: "At last they are coming up here; at last they reach here. Coyolxauhqui cometh ahead of them."

njman jc conilhuj in Quavitl icac, ca iequene oalpanvetzi, iequene oalaci teiacantivitz in Coiolxauhquj.

And Uitzilopochtli then burst forth, born.[10]

Auh in Vitzilobuchtli: njman jc oallacat,

Then his array he brought forth with him—his shield [named] *teuecuilli*,[11] and his darts, and his dart thrower, all blue, named *xiuatlatl*. And in di-

njman itlatquj oalieria in ichimal, tevevelli, yoan in jmiuh, yoan yiatlauh xouoctic, mjtoa xioatlatl, yoan icxitlan tlatlaan, ic ommichiuh yn iconecujtl, mjtoaia

7. Cf. Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble: *Florentine Codex*, Book II, *The Ceremonies* (Santa Fe: School of American Research, Monograph No. 14, Part III, and University of Utah, 1951), p. 69.

8. See Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún: *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (Mexico: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938), Vol. III, p. 99, where medical properties of nettles(?) are mentioned.

9. Tlalacapan: an use of *tlan* in composition, see Angel María Garibay K: "Paralipómenos de Sahagún," *Tlalocan*, II (1946), p. 171.

All the place names given here (Tzompantitlan, etc.) are translated in Eduard Seler's *Einige Kapitel aus dem Geschichtswerk des Fray Bernardino de Sahagún aus dem Azteckischen übersetzt* (ed. Camilla Seler-Sachs, Walter Lehmann, Walter Krickeberg; Stuttgart: Strecker und Schroeder, 1927), p. 256. In the original myth, possibly they were place names, which, in rituals, later came to be names of places around the Temple of Huitzilopochtli, used perhaps to recall the original account. Cf. Sahagún (Robredo ed., I, 181, and II, 382), where *Apetlac* and *Coaxalpan* are referred to not as towns but as places about the temple.

10. See Pl. I.

11. Seler, *op. cit.*, p. 256, n. 1: "*Schild mit Bilder von verschiedene Zeug.*"

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agonal stripes[13] was his face painted, with his child's offal, called his child's painting. He was pasted with feathers about his forehead and about his ears. And on his one thin foot, his left, he had the sole pasted with feathers, and he had stained both of his thighs with blue mineral earth, and both upper arms.

And one named Tochancalqui laid fire to the serpent *xiuhcoatl*[14] at the command of Uitzilopochtli.

Then with it he pierced Coyolxauhqui, and then he quickly struck off her head. It came to rest there on the slope of Coatepetl.[15] And her body went falling below; it went crashing in pieces; in various places her arms, her legs, and her body kept falling.

And Uitzilopochtli then arose and pursued the Centzonuitznaua, and went among them, and pounced upon them, and scattered them from the top of Coatepetl.

And when he had pursued them to the base, the foot [of the mountain], he took after them and gave them chase around the skirts of Coatepetl. Four times he pursued and followed them around. In vain they went about doing what they might against him; in vain they stood against him, striking about with their shields.[16a] No more could they do, no more could they achieve; neither could they take refuge. Uitzilopochtli quite overpowered them; he made them turn tail; he destroyed them in battle. He completely beated and ill-used them.

And not even now did he let them alone. He kept on. Much did they [then] importune him. They said to him: "Let this be enough!"

But Uitzilopochtli would not content himself with this. With force he hurled himself against them and took after them. And only very few fled his presence and escaped his hands. They went toward a haven to the south.[16] For indeed to that place these Centzonuitznaua[16a] journeyed—the few who escaped the hands of Uitzilopochtli.

And when he had slain them, when he had spent his wrath, he took from them their vestments, their adornment, their paper crowns ornamented with feathers. He arrayed himself with these and took

ipilnechiual, mequapotonj, inquac, yoan inamacatlan, auh ce piczoac in jcxi yiopochcopa, quipotonj in jxocpal, yoan quijeznoscoan in jmetz vmextj. yoan vmextj in jacol.

auh ce itoca Tochancalquj contlati in xjuhcoatl, quicalnaoati in Vitzilobuchtli:

njman jc quixil in Coiolxauhqui: auh njman quechcotzontivetz, in itzontecon vmpa onmocauh in jtenpa coatepetl. auh in itlac tlatzintlan vetzico tetzititivetz, cecoccan vetzetz in jma, in jcxi, yoan itlac.

auh in Vitzilobuchtli: njman ic oalcoa, quinoaltoca intlan aqui, quinoaltemovia, q'noaltepeoa in centzonvitznaoa, in Coatepetl icpac.

auh in oquimazitico in tlalchi, in tlatzintlan, niman ic ic quintoca, quiniiaiacalochti in Coatepetl, nappa in q'ntlatlaiacalochti, in qui iiaiacalochti, oc nen quioaloiuhtivia oc nē quioaloiuiaia, oalmochimalvitectiuia oac tle vel quichiuhque, aoc tle vel izque, aocmo vel quitzacuilque, çan quincemeviti in Vitzilobuchtli: quincentepotzti, vel quinpopolo, vel quimixtlati, vel quinpoctlantili.

auh in ça aocmo vel quincaoaia, in ovel in centech mopilo, cenca quitlatlauhtiaia, quilhujaia ma izquich.

auh in Vitzilobuchtli: amo ic moiolcevi, ca cenca intech motlapalo in quintocac. auh ça quenquitotoc in izpanpa coaque, in imacpa quinque vmpa itztiaque in viztlanpa, ichica ca vmpa itztiaque, inin centzonvicnaoa, in oquizquintin in imatitlanpa quizque in Vitzilobuchtli:

auh in ic iuhquj in oquinmicti, in *oyiellelquiz* quincuili in jatlacpoj, in jonechichicol in anecuxol,

13. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 147.
13. Corresponding Spanish text: "*Una culebra, hecha de tela, que se llamaba xiuhcoatl.*"
14. See Pl. 2.
14a. Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 257) translates this passage thus: "*vergebens versuchte sie ihn zu toten (seine Keule), vergebens versuchte sie ihr Schilden zu, schlugen sie (vor Abwehr gegen ihn) auf ihre Schilde, sie konnten nichts mehr machen, nichts mehr tun, konnten sich nicht mehr gegen ihn verteidigen.*"
15. Following *ninehuapa*, the *Real Palacio* MS has *yn ie mextzonco ninehuapa*. The passage would then read: "This place is known as Uitzdampa, because indeed there there Centzonuitznaua journeyed. . . ."
16. *Centzonvitznaoa* probably *centzonuitznaoa* is intended.

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[them] for himself; he summed [them] as his due, as if taking the insignia to himself.

And Uitzilopochtli was also known as an omen of evil; because from only a feather which fell, his mother Coatl ixue conceived. For no one came forth as his father.

This one the Mexicans cherished, by making offerings to him, and by honoring and serving him. And Uitzilopochtli rewarded him [who did so]." And this veneration was taken from there, at Coatepec, just as had been done in days of yore.[18]

Enough [of this].

quimotlaquiti, quimaxcati, quimotenalti, iuhq'n quimotlavizti. 773

suh in Vitzilobuchtli: no mjtoaia tetzavitl, ichica ca çan jvitl, in temoc injc otztic in jnan in coacue: caiac nez in ita. 539

Jehoatl in oquijpiaia in mexica injc otlamanitiaia, inic oquimavixtiliaia, oquitlaccoltiaia, ioan in itech muchioaia in Vitzilobuchtli. suh in ichoatl in tlamavixtililiztli ocatca, ca vmpa tlaliti in Coatepec, in juh muchivi ca ie uecauh
ie inquich.

METHOD PARAGRAPH, in which it is told how they did honor to Uitzilopochtli and thus worshipped him as a god.

And when the body of Uitzilopochtli was shapen, when they gave it form upon their feast day of Panquetzaliztli, they made it of a dough of amaranth, of fish amaranth seed, which is a spiny herb. They ground it; they pulverized it well; they crushed it into a powder and placed it in earthen vessels, as if it were an unguent—as if it were feather down. They rid it of *chicalcat* seeds—they cast them aside as useless; they threw away all the *petzicatl* [bird] seed,[19] the black-seeded amaranth, and the siftings and the corrupted material, and other small rubbish. And this they cast out and tossed away.

And when the amaranth seed dough was made, [it was] like pine [resin], like cooked maguey, like an unguent.

And upon the next day the body of Uitzilopochtli died.

And he who slew him [was] the [priest known as] Quetzalcoatl.[20] And [that] with which he slew him was a dart, painted with flint, which he shot into his heart.

INJC VME PARRAPHO VNCAN motqneoa in quenjn quimavixtiliaia Vitzilobuchtli, injc quimoteutiaia. 796

Auh in Vitzilobuchtli: in iquac tlacatia in jnacaio in quitlacatiliaia injlhujuh ipan. in iquac panquetzaliztli, in quichioaia tzoalli, michioauhtzoalli, ie in chicalotl, qujtecia, vel quicuechoaia, quicuechtiliaia, cantlaliaia, cantiliaia, iuhqujn axjn, iuhquin jvitl, quitlaçaia in chicalotl, vel quitlacujcuiliaia, muchi quiquistiaia in petzicatl, in tezcacoauhtli, ioan ipolocatl, ioan in palanquj, ioan in oc cequi tlaçolteotanti, muchi quiquistiaia, muchi quichichiotzaia,

suh in muchioaia tzoalli, iuhqujn ocotl ie on mexcalli, iuhqujn axi.

suh in imuntlaioc in miquia in Vitzilobuchtli in jnacaio.

suh in quimjctiaia ichoatl in Quetzalcoatl: suh injc quijmjctiaia ie mitl, iacatzquaio conaqujlíaia yiollopa,

17. The manifesto, the *Real Palacio MS* has nonchalantopa, which is perhaps more logical.

18. See N. 3.

19. *Chicalotl* and *petzicatl*: cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., p. 62, nn. 35—which identifies *chicalotl* with *achichintli* or "fish amaranth"—and 38. Sahagún (op. cit., p. 270) translates the phrase *molli chicalotl tzoalli in ixtac huan tlatlapanalizti*: *los chicalotl he los tzoalli blanco* (*Amaranto mezclado*)—probably pepper.

20. See below (Appendix, Ch. 8).

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He died in the presence of Moctezuma and of the keeper of the god, who verily spoke to Uitzilopochtli —who verily appeared before him, who indeed could make him offerings; and of four[21] masters of the youths, front rank leaders. Before all of them died Uitzilopochtli.

And when he had died, thereupon they broke up his body of amaranth seed dough. His heart was apportioned to Moctezuma.

And as for the rest of his members, which were made, as it were, to be his bones, they were distributed and divided up among all. Two [parts] were given the Tlatelulca; and [with these] two, which were as the fundament, two more were offered to the old men of the tribal temples of the Tlatelulca. And as much was given to the Tenochca. And afterwards it was divided up among them, to each in his order, each year when they ate it. [Each] year [those of] two neighborhoods[21a] ate it, and also the old men of two tribal temples. And when they divided up among themselves his body [made of] amaranth seed dough, [it was broken up] exceeding small, very fine, as small as seeds. The youths ate it.

And [of] this which they ate, it was said: "The god is eaten." And of those who ate it, it was said: "They guard the god."

in imixpã miquja ie in Motecuçoma, yoã in tehoa, in vel quinotzaia in Vitzilobuchtli, in vel quimoneztiliaia, in vel quimoveniotiaia, yoan nauintin tiachcauh tlaiacatique, izquiztin inin jmixpan miquia in vitzilobuchtli,

auh in omjc, njman ie ic quixitinja, in inacaio in tzoalli, yn jiollo itech povia in Motecuçoma:

auh in oc ceq' in jmimillo, in juhquj yiomjio muchioa tepan moiaoa nemamaco, omolotl in maco in tlatilulca. Yoã vme in ipepechiuhca, no, omolotl maco in calpolveuetque in tlatilulca, çan no izqui in maco in tenochca. auh çatepan quimonamaca, çan tecpãtiuh, cecexiuhtica in quiqua, ce xivitl ontlaxillacalli in quiqua no oncalpoltin in calpolveuetq̃. auh in quimomamacaia in jnacaio in tzoalli, cenca çan achitoton, çan tepitoton, piztlatoton. ichoan in telpopuchti in quiquaia.

auh injn quiquaia mjtoa teuqualo, auh in ie oquiquaque motenoa teupia.—

THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which are related the penances which they performed who ate of the body of Uitzilopochtli.

And great was the distress which was caused. And for one full year the youths fasted. At this time they burned much wood—each night [bringing] two thousand eight hundred pieces in honor [of Uitzilopochtli], and on the following day the same, and on the next day likewise; and pine sticks. With ten large capes [they paid for that] which burned each night. This much impoverished [them].

And each man laid out one large cape and five

ONE BY PARAGRAPH, vncã motenoa in tlamaceoalizti, in qujchioaia, in quiquaia in inacaio Vitzilobuchti.

Auh ca cenca vey in jnnetolinilis mochioaia. auh vel ce xivitl in moçaoaia in telpopochtin vncan mjiec in quitlatiuia in quavitl in cecenioal macuiltzontli, onteontli inemachio, muztla yvi, muztla yuj, yoã ezotl, matlactica quachtli in tlatla iccioal, ichoatl y, in cẽca tlatolinjaia:

yoan ceoen quachtli, yoan macuiltetl tequachtli in

21. Following Mantuano (Anno coloano), the *Real Academia* MS has: "Motenoaynoppan, yn omotl tenpixque, yoã nauintin. . . ." Complete, the passage would read: "of four five priests, the high priests, and of four masters of the youths. . . ."

21a. Thouhbouth: *barrio*, according to Molina, *op. cit.* Antonio Mazatlán, however (*El Calpulli en la Organización Social de los Tenochca* [Mexico: Instituto de Historia, 1949], pp. 31 sqq., 40 sqq.), has "'*calle*' o '*barrio chico*'"; *barrio*, possibly, neighborhoods. Cf. also his enlightening discussion of *calpulli*, esp. Chaps. VI-IX.

small capes, and then one small basket of grains of dried maize and one hundred dried ears of maize. Each man brought forth this.

This gave rise to much distress; it caused much anguish; it afflicted [them]. And some therefore fled; they therefore went elsewhere. And many flung themselves in the midst of war;[20] they cast themselves to their deaths, they who threw themselves into the wars.

And when already they were to give up their office, when already they were to finish [their penances], when already [they had served] one year, once again they set out, each one, three small capes, for buying pine sticks, and also three [more], for buying wood, from which a torch was made. All six together were needed when it came to pass that Uitzilopochtli was bathed, when the year ended.

And they bathed Uitzilopochtli at midnight. Before he was bathed, first all took part in a winding procession. And a man was arrayed as the likeness of Uitzilopochtli, [and] named Yopoch. Upon him was placed the adornment [of the god] which for one year remained upon him.

For the space of a year he wore [Uitzilopochtli's] adornment. Hence he fasted for a year, that he might wear his array. And he danced when he wore his raiment. One [dancer] went guiding him; one went ahead, before him, named master of the youths of Uitznauac. And all the [other] masters of the youths, the young seasoned warriors, and then all those who were intrepid in war, went following him, taking him in a winding procession.

At this time there was need of torches, pine torches. And when midnight had come, thereupon he went to be bathed. [The others] went lighting the way with torches, with hand-borne torches—with [torches] to light him held in the hand,—and with incense ladles held in the hand. They proceeded playing flutes for him. When they came to arrive at the Mist House, thereupon they set down the likeness of Uitzilopochtli.

And the keeper of the god then took up the water in a blue gourd vessel, and when he had drawn the water, he offered it before him. Then he took up the fresh, green reeds; four of them he put into the gourd vessel, and four times he took up water to bathe the face [of the image]; thus he bathed it.[21] And when

quiçlaliaia cecen tlacatl, njman ie tlaolli centzin co-
pincaxontli, yoan mamacuilpoalli cintli, in cecen
tlacatl, quincetiaia.

Jehcatl y, in cẽca tlatequipachoaia, tlacllelaxitiaia,
tlatolinjaia, auh in cequintin ic choloaia, ic canapa
itztivia. Yoan miequintin in ōmotlacomaiavia inoc
ōmomjccatlaçaia, in ca ōmomotlaia in jniacan,

auh in iquac in ie quicaoanque, in intequiuh, in ie
ic tlatzonquiztisque, in ie ic ce xivitl oc ceppa, qui-
tlatlaliaia, cecẽaca, ehetetl tequachtli ococoalonj no
etetl quauhcoalonj centetl tlepilli ic muchioa, in ie
muchi ic nepan chiquacentetl, iquac monequia, inic
maltiaia Vitzilobuchtli, inic ontlamj ce xivitl.

auh in caltiaia in Vitzilobuchtli: ioalnepantla, in
iiamo maltia achtopa nococololo, auh ce tlacatl
mochichioaia in jxiptla in Vitzilobuchtli, itoca Yo-
boch, conmaquja, in itlatquj, in ce xivitl ipan ocatca.

yn oquiçexiuhtili, itla aquj ie moçaoa ce xiujtl
in itla aquiz. auh mitoaia in oitla ac, ce qujiacẽtiuh,
ce ispan icatiuh, itoca vitznaoac teachcauh, auh in
jxq'ch tiachcauhti, in telpochtequioaque. yoan in ie
iequich in quauhtlocelutl quitocativi, cololvitivi.

Je vncanjn in monequi tlepilli, in ocopilli. auh in
eacic ioalnepantla, njmã ie ic iauh in maltiz quitla-
vilitivi, matlepiltica, matlavilti ca, matlematica, qui-
tlapichiliti vj, in eacito in aiauhcalco njman ie ic
quitlalia, in ixiptla in Vitzilobuchtli.

auh in teuhoa njman ie ic concuj in atl xonovic
xicaltica, auh in ocxopilo, atl, ixpan conmana, çate-
pan concuj, in acatl xonxuhquj, celtic, navi conaquja
xicalco nappa in concui atl ic quixamja ic caltia. auh

22. Sahagún (Bibliográ Mexicana, p. 300) translates tlauhcoamaiavia as "aserjan sus . . . de flechazos los." Cf. tlauxalli (above).
23. See Pl. 4.

796 he had bathed it, then once more he placed the array [on the image] and took it in his arms. Loudly they played the flutes for him.

And after this they bore [the image] to Itepeyoc and set it in place. And when they had come to set it down, thereupon they went away; all dispersed. Then ended the fasting and penances of [those who had] for the year [been] eaters of the god.[34]

in oconalti, niman ie no ceppa itlan aquj, quinapaloa, cenca quitlapichiliaia.

auh njman ie ic qujvica in itepeioc vmpa ccntlalia, auh in iõc ocontlalito, njman ie ic momoiaoa, vivilloa, ie vncan tnonquiça, in ineçaoaliz, in jntlamaceoaliz, in tcuquaque ce xivitl.

785 FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which are related other burdensome works which those did who received the body of Uitzilopochtli.

Still another group at this time began to fast in the year that they were to eat the god. They proceeded in this manner each year; thus they all continued giving [way to others]. They all went on exchanging [places]; there was mutual taking over and trading [of functions]. And likewise for the priests of the tribal temples there was fasting for a year. Great also was their suffering.

Much from this did their affliction grow; great was their anguish, [which] filled their hearts and bodies. Verily, their misery surpassed [all else], since for one year there was to be fasting—since for a year they were to fast. [Each] man was to pass every night burning [wood] and providing light. Very much wood was consumed each night, as was the custom; and many broken up pine sticks, that torches might be lit. And they brought forth *chili*, tomatoes, salt, squash seeds, and water and food.

785 423 And when they had nothing more with which to buy, they gave up their precious capes, that they might buy things, or else they sold their land, which they had enclosed, or which lay in others' territory, or which somewhere they had lent. And they did even so with all lands—the tribal lands, the cultivated lands, marshy lands, the dry and dusty lands, or the cut-over, cultivated fields upon which they worked.

And if one who could not bring forth the tribute

INJC NAVJ PARRAFHO VNCAN motenecoa in oc centlamantli tequjtl vel etic, in quichiocaia in ichoantin qujceliaia in jnacaio Vitzilobuchtli.

Ie no centlamantin vncan cõpeoaltia, in moçaoa in jpan xivitl tcuquazque, çan juh otlatocatiuh, cecexiuhtica, çan jc nemamacotiuh, çan necacavililotiuh, nepapatlalotiuh, nepapatlalo: auh çan ie no ivi in calpoleque, no ce xivitl in moçaoa cenca no motolinia,

vel vmpa onquiça in netolinilistli, vel totoneoa, vel chichichina yn jniollo, in jnnacaio, vel iniacacpa quiquiça in jnnetoliniliz injc ce xivitl quitlaça moçaoa, injc mocexiuhcaoa, ice tlacatl ceioal quitlaça in tlatlatia, in tlavia, cenca miec in polivi intlatlatil quzvitl iceioal, yoan miec in ocotl tnomonquj, injc tlavilloia, yoã quinextiaia, chilli, tomatl, iztatl, xiooachtli, yoan atl, tlaqualli.

auh in aoc tle itlaoaia, itech quicallaçaia in jtilmatzin, injc tlacoa, anoço quinamaca itlal, in quicaltzacuja, anoço canah tenac motlalia, canah netlacujlli quichiua: auh injc quichioaia ipampa tlalli in quezquich quichioa in calpollali, yoan in chinamitl, in chiauhtlalli, in teuhtlalli, anoço ximmilli ie in ipan tequjtia:

auh in aqujn in amo coniecoaia tequitl, ic quica-

34. The meaning of the term *huipoli* may be taken as either image or impersonator. The context of this passage, in both the Nahuatl and Spanish versions, suggests the impersonator bore the image to the Mint House, where the keeper of the god (*teohua*) bathed the image; either he bathed also the impersonator, or the latter bathed himself. The impersonator then took up the image.

therefore pledged the land, they made him leave it; they made him abandon it.

And when their fasting came to an end, much did they make merry. They bathed with water; they washed [their heads] with *amolli* soup.[28] And fruit was eaten—they made fruit *tamales*, and sauces. Or they slew and ate a dog, and they drank wine. Thus they showed that verily they were through with [their tribute]; that their works had fallen behind them.

For no longer a burden upon their backs was their fasting. [It was] as if [now] they could move briskly and with security; now they awoke [from their sleep] with joy and peace; they awoke tranquil. They had no offerings to make. In peace they might make their livings and find the means by which they might subsist either by fishing or in the *maguey* fields; or perchance they might frequent the market places in one town or another. No more did they live in bondage.

Enough.

28. See Fls. 5, 6.

oaia in tlalli, ic quicaoaltiaia, ic quicacaoaltiaia:

[785 [423]]

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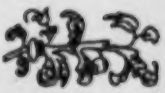
ssh in iquac in tzonquiçaia in jneçaoaliz, cenca papaquja, mualtiaia, mahamoviaia, yoan mozocoquaiaia, quichioaia xocotamalli; yoan tlatonilli, anoço itzcuintli qujmjctiaia qujquaia, yoan tlaoanaia, ic quinextiaia in ca oquimotlaxiliqoe, imicampa overr, in jntequjuh,

i ma iuhqui tlamamalli in neçaoalizth, in juhqui opouhtivetzqoe, ic pacca, iocoxca oaliça oalpaccaça aoc tle qujmamana çan ivia in motlaecoltia in quitemoa in cochcaiotl, in neuhcaiotl, anoço tlatlama, in anoço tlachiquj, in aço motitianquiz in ahoácan tepehoácan: aoc tle qujiolitlacotiuh.

Je izquich.

[p.10 is blank]



776 **Second Chapter, which telleth how they considered a god one named Titlacauan or Tezcatlipoca; even as an only god they believed in him.**

Of this one who was called Titlacauan they said that verily his were the heavens and the earth. All these in truth he made. And he gave to men all that which was necessary; that by which all live; that which can be drunk. He gave riches to men; he made them prosper.

And also of Titlacauan they said [that he was] invisible—like the darkness; [like] the wind.[1] When sometimes he called out to one, he spoke like a shadow. Verily, what one knew within one, [that] he knew. There was much calling out and praying [to him]. It was said to him:

"O protector of all, O giver of life, O Titlacauan, pity me, give me what is necessary for my life and for my strength—of thy gentleness and sweet essence. For now there is want; there is fatigue in gaining one's needs. [This] now there is upon earth. Take pity upon me; incline thyself to me. For I am thy orphan, I am poor, I am in need. Do I, perchance, serve thee in nothing? For I sweep, I sweep up rubbish, I lay fires there where I attend thee, there in thy poor house. Ah! Quickly slay me, trample me with thy feet! Ah! May my body come to rest!"

776 753 And also they said of Titlacauan that he gave woe and affliction. And men he burdened and scourged with plagues which were great and grave —leprosy, boils, dropsy, cancers, the itch, hoemorrhoids, piles, chilblains,[2] and other sicknesses.

And when he laid these upon men, it was when he was wroth—that someone had forsaken his vows and promises, and that he had mishandled the fasting; that a man had lain with a woman [or] a

Injc vme capitulo, itechpa tlatoa in quenjn Dios vel ipā quimatia in iehoatl in mjtoa Titlacaoan, anoço Tezcatlipuca in jubquima ipan quimatia ce dios.

In iehoatl in motenoa titlacaoa quitoaia ca iehoatl ilhujcaoa tlalticpaque, iehoan muchi vel quichiou: yoan muchi quitemaca, in ixquich in tetech monequj, in nemoalonj, yn ioalonj, iehoatl tecuiltonoa, iehoatl tetlamachtia:

auh yoan in Titlacaoā quitoaia, amo hitonj, çan iuhqujn ioalli, i ehecatl in quēmā aca quinoezaia, çan iuhquj cecalli tlatoaia, vel teitic tlamati, mati, cenca tzatzililoia, tlatlauhtiloia, ilhujloia,

Tloquee, naoaquee, ipalnemoanje, titlacaoane; xinechmotlaccolili, ma xinechmomaquili, in notechmonequj in nonenca, in nochicaoaca, in motzopelica, in maviaca ca ie mihiiovia, ca ie mociavi, ie vmpa ōquijça in tlalticpac, ma xinechmocnoitili, ma xinechmocnoenachiti, in njmocnotlacauh in nitoxonqui, in nioaçonqui. Cuix atle nimjtznochivililia, ca nitlachpana, ca nitlacuicui, nitletlalia, in vncan nimjtznotlatolchialia, in vncan mocnochā. auh manoço cuele xinechmotlatlatili, xinechōmocxipachilvi, ma cuele nicceujto in nonacaio.

Auh yoan in titlacaoan, quitoaia, ca no iehoatl in qujtemacaia in netolinjliztli, in cococ tzupoubquj: yoan tetech qujtlaliaia, ic temotlaia in cocoliztli, in vey, in euj, in tzococolitztli, in nanaoatl, in tlanquaaltzaliztli, in quaiocatl, in xiotl, in nochiciuiztli, in quexiliujliztli, in xoxoconaujliztli: yoan in oc cequj cuculiztli.

Auh in jquac tetech qujtlaliaia, iquac in ielitlacoloia: yn aqujn amo qujneltiliaia, yn jocuel, yn jtlacemiuil: yoan in qujtlacoaia in nezcaualiztli, yn ac ipan

1. Tezcatlipoca, according to Cline (*op. cit.*, p. 19), signified the nocturnal cycle and was connected with the moon and all the other gods. Hence he brought misfortune, death, and destruction, and was associated with witchcraft. Always young (*adjoyado*), he was regarded as patron of warriors, and sometimes called Yaotl (war). For this reason he was also connected with Huitzilopochtli. See also Edward Seler: *Collected Works* (J. Eric S. Thompson and Francis B. Richardson, eds. Cambridge, Mass.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1960). Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 29, and Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book I, p. 2.

2. Probably measles; possibly to be related to *cocoliztli* (Simeon, *Dictionnaire de la langue nahuatl ou mexicaine* [Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885]; Siméon, Robredo ed., IX, p. 196).

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753 woman with a man, or that otherwise the fasting had been broken.[3]

776 And when the sick man suffered greatly, he prayed much to him, he cried out to him, he reached his
755 hand toward him.[4] He said to him:

"O Titlacauan, abate [my suffering] for me. May I do no more for thee—may I no longer hear nor serve [thee]! But if now thou shalt heal me, I vow to thee that I shall serve thee. If I shall gain something for myself, I shall not eat of it of a morning,[5] but do thou come to set it at thy foot. I shall bring it [to thee]."

And the sick man [who was] in sore straits, who might not recover, who could not now end [the suffering], who could now endure no more, sometimes berated [Titlacauan]. He said to him:

"O Titlacauan, thou sodomite! Now that thou takest thy pleasure [with me], slay me quickly!"

Some Titlacauan then healed, not angered by this. And some nevertheless then died for this.

776 And Titlacauan they also named Tezcatlipoca, and Moiocoiatzin, Yaotzin, Necoc iaotl, and Neçaualpilli. And hence was he called Moiocoia[tzin]: that which was in his mind, that which he thought of, he forthwith made. No one invented [anything for him]; none might prevent him. And in the heavens and all the earth around, whomever he wished he might endow; he would enrich him. And whomever he wished, he might afflict. And whenever he might be wroth, or might so wish, or when he was neglectful, he would bring down the heavens above us, and we should perish.

[778] And Titlacauan, [who] extended throughout this world, was therefore besought, called to, and prayed to. And everywhere they set up his sanctuaries, shrines[6a] by the road, at crossroads. Everywhere he was awaited. And in the shrines they had fir branches laid on the five days with which the twenty-day [month] ended.[6] Always they went to do this on each of the [five] days with which each month ended.

Enough.

cioacuchi oquichtli, yn ac ipan oquichcuchi cioatl: yoan axocc monecaoalujtequj.

Auh in jquac in cenca tlaiiaiouja cucuzquj, cenca qujtlatlauhtia qujtzatzilia, ymac tlaneuoc; quilhuja.

Titlacauane, ma oc xinechmocaxmajli, macacocmo inh njnochioua, ma onjcac, ma oc notlaiecul: auh intla oc tinechmopatilia, moujctzinco njnonetoltia, ma njmjtzmotlatlaiecultilia: intla itla njcanonencatiliz, camo njctlacaquaz, çan mocaxitzin ic ticmoquechiliqujuh, nican: njcujcaz.

Auh in cucuzquj cenca tlanauj, yn amo vel pati, yn aoc ontlaiecoa yn aoc vel i: in quenmanjan cahoaia: quilhujaia.

Titlacauane, cujlonpole: ie tonmotlatlamachtia, manoço cuele xinechtlatlati:

in cequjntin njman qujnpatiaia amo ic qualanja, y cequjntin tel njman ic miquja.

Auh in titlacauan, no qujtocaiotiaia tezcatlipuca, moiocoiatzi, iaotzi, necoc iautl, neçacalpilli: auh ynjc motenecoa, moiocoia, in tlein qujiocoia, in tlein qujlnamjquj, njman qujchioa: aiac qujiocoia, aiac quellelitia: yoan yn ilhujcatl, yoan in jequjch anaoatl tentica, yn aquin qujnequj qujcaujhtenoz, qujcaujhtenoa: yoan yn aquin qujttitia, in cecoc teupouhquj, qujttitia. Auh yn iquin moçomaz, inmonenequiz, yn jquin tlatziuiz, qujoalpechoz yn ilhujcatl tepanmanj, tipopoliuizque.

Auh yn tlacaca, qujcentzacutimanca yn ajca ynic notzaloia, in tlalaubtiloia in tzatzililoia: auh noviian qujtlalilia yn jchial, in mumuztli.in vtlica, in vmaxac, noujian chialoia. Auh in mumuzco acxeiatl qujtlaliloia, ynjc tlamacujlti ilhujtl, ynjc tzonquiça cempoalilhujtl: muchipa iuh muchiuhtinja, yn jpan cecentetl ilhujtl, ynjc tlantinh cecempoalilhujtl.

ie izquich.

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3. The corresponding Aztec text of this passage has *xoxouhcatl* and *xoxouhcujtequj*, probably means for *xopancatl* and *xopancujtequj*.
4. See Pl. 7.
5. In "Pandpictorum de Sahagún" (p. 171, n. 7), Cordry notes that *chiualiquac* may also be more literally rendered "upmost; a one 'uppermost (thing) a morning, etc.'"
In this paragraph, we have read *ajnjnian* as *ai-n-ian*; it might equally well be *ai-nian* (I shall sing).
6a. "Yo *andenes*," in the corresponding Spanish. See, however, Mallon, *op. cit.* (*xoxouhcatl*), and Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, pp 34, 102. The same *xoxouhcatl* is variously translated.
6. See Pl. 8.

Third Chapter, which telleth—in which is related—[the story of] Quetzalcoatl, who was a great wizard;[1] and of the place where he ruled,[2] and of what he did when he went [away].

This Quetzalcoatl they considered a god. They all adored him as a god. He was prayed to in olden times there at Tula.[3]

And there was his temple, [which was] very tall and high; lofty and towering. Very many [were its] steps, extending in a multitude, and not wide; but each one, in truth, was very narrow. On each step, the sole of one's foot could not be extended.

There, it is said, he lay; he lay covered; and he lay with only his face covered. And, it *is* said, he was monstrous.

His face [was] like a huge, battered stone, a great fallen rock; it [was] not made like that of men. And his beard was very long—exceedingly long. He was heavily bearded.

And the Toltecs, his vassals, were highly skilled. Nothing that they did was difficult [for them]. They cut green stone, and they cast gold, and they made other works of the craftsman and the feather worker. Very skilled were they. These started and proceeded from Quetzalcoatl—all craft works and wisdom.

And there stood his green stone house, and his golden[4] house, and his coral house, and his shell house, and his house of beams, his turquoise house, and his house of precious feathers.

And [for] his vassals the Toltecs, nothing with which they dealt was [too] distant. Very quickly they could arrive whither they went. And because they were fleet, they were named *tlanquacemilhuime*.[5]

Injc Ey capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in jtoloca in Quetzalcoatl in vej naoalli catca: in canjn tlatocac, yoan in tlein qujchiuh iquac ia.

In ichoatl, in quetzalcoatl: *iuhqujma* teutl ipan qujmatia, netcutiloia, teugmachoia, in iqujn ie vecauh, in vmpa tullan. .

auh in vncā onoca in iteupan, cenca vecapā, cenca quauhtic, ixtchiquauhtic, ixachivecapan, cenca miec in itlamamatlaio, vel tecpichauhtoc, amo papatlaoac, çan pitzatoton, amo vel cece xocpalli, vmpan onoca

qujl çan tlapachiuhtoca, çan ixtlapachiuhtoca, yoan quil atlacacemelle catca:

in ixaiac iuhqujn tetecujnpol, tehtlanipol, hamo tlatlacaiocoia. auh in itentzon cenca viac, cenca vitlatztic, tentzonpachtic,

auh in tolteca, in imaceoalhoan, cenca mjmatia, atle ovi in quichioaia, in quitequja chalchivitl, yoan teucujtlapitzaia, yoan quichioaia, in oc cequj toltecaiutl in amantecaiotl, cenca vel mimatia vel itech peuhtica, vel itech quiztica, in Quetzalcoatl in isquich in toltecaiotl, in nemachtli,

yoan onicaca ichalchiuhcal, yoan iteucujtlacal, yoan itapachcal, yoan iteccizcal, yoan ioapalcal, ixiuhcal, yoan iquetzalcal.

auh in imaceoahoan, in tolteca hacan in veca quichioaia, vel iciuhca acitivetziia in campa via: auh injc cenca totocaia motocaiotiaia, tlanquacemilhujme,

1. *Nonoualli.* Garibay (*op. cit.*, pp. 170, 171) translates the term as *slave*, but suggests three possibilities for precise understanding of the word: (1) if *noual* is the root, a wizard-quadruped is implied; (2) if the root is *nahuali*, *nahuala* (an archaic verb surviving in composition), then the meaning is close to magician or possibilities, or—following Molina (*cf. nahualtequi, nahualtenlia, nahualtlachia, etc.*)—to fool; (3) if the root is the Maya *no, noo, ooma*, then the meaning approximates wisdom, science, magic. Garibay favors the second possibility.

2. Sahagún (*Biblioteca Mexicana*, p. 369, n. 1) corrects *in canjn* to *in quenin*. This is perhaps more logical.

3. As a deity, Quetzalcoatl was valued god and prince god (Nahuatl: *Collected Works*, Vol. I, p. 25), or morning star god, god of life, of the morning (Ciaxa *op. cit.*, p. 19). See also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book I, pp. 2-3.

Possibly the most elaborate account of Quetzalcoatl as the prince-chief of Tula is in the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan*, of which the best editions are Walter Lehmann's *Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (Stuttgart und Berlin: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1938), and Primo Feliciano Velázquez's, in *Códice Chimalpopoca*. According to this source (pp. 42, 69ff., in Lehmann's *Geschichte*, and pp. 11ff. in Velázquez's *Códice*), he reigned at Tula for ten or twenty years following A. D. 873, having been born thirty years earlier of Chimalman, widow of Tompanē, who died A. D. 894. (See *supra*, Chap. I, n. 4.) Chimalman is said to have swallowed a green stone, and from it to have conceived. See also Tezozomoc, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

4. *Teocuitlatl*: gold or *silver*, according to Rémi Simēon, *op. cit.* Specifically, '*teocic teocuitlatl* (*or teil cuponiqui*) is gold, and *istac teocuitlatl* is silver. Cf. Molina (*op. cit.*, Spanish-Mexican section).

5. Those who walked the whole day without living, according to Sahagún (Bulmeda ed.), III, p. 114.

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And there was a hill named Tzatzitepetl. Just so is it named today. It is said that there the crier stationed himself; [for] that which was required he placed himself there in order to announce [it]. He was heard clearly in distant places;[6] everywhere was heard that which he said, the laws that were made. Swiftly all would come forth to learn what Quetzalcoatl had commanded the people.

And also they were very rich. Of no value were food and all sustenance. It is said that all the squashes were very large, and some were quite round. And the ears of maize were as large as hand grinding stones,[8] and long. They could hardly be embraced in one's arms. And the amaranth plants—verily, they climbed up them; they could be climbed. And also colored cotton prospered—bright red, yellow, rose colored, violet, green, azure, verdigris color, whitish, brown, shadowy, rose red, and coyote colored.[9] All different [colored cottons] were this way; so they grew; they did not dye them.

And there dwelt all [varieties of] birds of precious feather—the blue cotinga, the quetzal, the trupial, the red spoonbill, and all the different birds, which spoke very well; which sang right sweetly. And all the green stones and gold were not costly. Very much [of all this] was owned. And also chocolate—*xochicacaoatl*[10]—was made. In very many places there was chocolate.

And these Toltecs enjoyed great wealth; they were rich; never were they poor. Nothing did they lack in their homes. Never was there want. And the small ears of maize were of no use to them; they only [burned them to] heat the sweat baths.

And this Quetzalcoatl also did penances. He bled the calf of his leg to stain thorns with blood.[9] And he bathed at midnight. And he bathed there where his bathing place was, at a placed name Xippacoyan.[10] Him the fire priests imitated, and the [other] priests. And the priests took their manner of conduct from the life of Quetzalcoatl. By it they ordained the law of Tula. Thus were customs established here in Mexico.

auh vncan centetl tepetl, motocaiotia tzatzitepetl, no çan njuh nujtos in axcan, quil vncan mouetzaia in tecpoiotl, in iuja monequia, vncan mouetzaia in tzatzia, vel oncaquiztia in anaoac, vel iuiujchcapa oalcacoia, in iuin quitooaia, in iuí naoatilli mochioaia, iciuhca oalvilcoaia, quicalmatia in iuí ic tenanotia Quetzalcoatl.

Auh yoan vel mocujltonooaia, hatlaçotli catca, in qualoni, in izq'ch in tenacaiotl, quijlmach in aiotetl, cenca vevejtepopol catca, cequi çan mamalacachtic: auh in cintli vel memetlapaltic, vivitlatztic, çan quimalcochoaia. auh in oauhçoiatl, vel quitlecaviaia, vel tlecaviloia. Auh yoã no vmpa muchioaia in tlapapal ichcatl, in chichiltic, in coztic, in tlaxtalecaltic in camopaltic, xoxoctic, matlaltic, quilpaltic, vitztecoltic, camiltic, movitic, xochipaltic, coioichcatl yn hin. in izquitlamátli, çan njman auh quijçaia amo quipaia.

Auh izquijch nenca in tlaçotzotl, y xiuhtzotl, in quetzaltzotl, i çaqua, in tlauhquechol, yoan in ie izquijch nepapan tzotzl in cenca vel tlatoa, in vel tepacic cujca: auh yoan in izquich in chalchivitl, in tecujtlatl, amo tlaçotli catca, cenca miec in mopiaia, auh yoan no muchioaia in cacaoatl, in xochicacaoatl, vel mieccan, icaca in cacaoatl catca.

Auh in ichoantin in toltreca, cẽca mocujltonooaia, motlacamatia, aic motolinjaia, atle monectoca in jochan aic maiania: auh in mokpitl, amo intech monequja, çan jc temaxcallatiaia,

auh yoã in ichoatl in Quetzalcoatl no tlamacenia quijçoaia, in itlanitz ynjc quezviaia in vitztli, yoan maltiaia iocalnepanda: auh in vmpa onmaltia, in incaltiaia catca, iocaiocan zippacoiã ichoatl quitlaieichcalviaia in tlelenamacapoc, yoan in tlamacazqui, incmilio in quetzalcoatl in quijnoncmilintiaia in tlamacazquc, tullan tlamanitilitli, injc otlamanitiaia, inic otlamanca in nican mexico.

5a. On Axaxac. *v. inf.*, chap. 12, n. 2.

6. *Medrapilli*: *recitador con que manden el campo* (Molina, *op. cit.*).

7. Cf. Molina, *op. cit.*, and Simeon, *op. cit.*, on colors. Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 270) offers these variants: *xoxoctic*—"*blaulich-lila* (*ausserdunkel*)"; *matlaltic*—"*blaugrün*"; *quilpaltic*—"*gelbrot*"; *vitztecoltic*—"*orangefarben*"; *camiltic*—"*schmutzfarbig*"; *xochipaltic*—"*rosafarbig*"; *coioichcatl*—"*der fahlgelbe* (*coyote-farbene*) *Baumwolle*."

8. In *loc. cit.*, Seler equates this with "*Mexanolpfeife* (*maskiertenade Holze Kolquane*)."

9. See Pl. 9.

10. See Pl. 10.

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

Fourth Chapter, which telleth how the glory of Quetzalcoatl came to an end, and how three sorcerers came to him, and what they did.[1]

And at this time, Quetzalcoatl and all the Toltecs became slothful. And there approached and came, as evil sorcerers, three demons—Uitzilopochtli, Titlacauan, and Tlacauepan.[2] All three practised sorcery that they might bring ruin to Tula.

This Titlacauan began casting the spell. It is told that he turned himself into a little old man. He counterfeited and took the form of one who was much bent and whose hair was very white, very silvery. Thereupon he went to the house of Quetzalcoatl.

When he had gone there, he then said [to the retainers]: "I wish to see the chief, Quetzalcoatl."

Then [the others] replied to him: "Go hence, old man. The chief is sick. Thou wilt vex him."

Then the old man said: "Nay, verily I will see him; verily I must come to him."

They said to him: "So be it. Wait a little. We shall tell him."

And thereupon they informed Quetzalcoatl. They said to him: "My prince, an old man hath come to speak with thee, one who seemeth like a net, like a trap for thee."[3] We would turn him away, but he wisheth not to go. He saith only: 'I will see the chief for myself.' "

Then said Quetzalcoatl: "Let him come; let him enter. For I have awaited him for some little time."

Then they brought him in to Quetzalcoatl.

Thereupon the old man came and said to him: "My grandson, my chief, how is thy health? Here is a potion which I have brought for thee. Drink it."[4]

And then Quetzalcoatl said: "Come here, O old one. Thou art spent; thou hast tired thyself. For some time I have awaited thee."

Inic nauj Capitulo itechpa tlatoa, in quenjn tzõquizqui ymaviso, in Quetzalcoatl, yoan in quenjn oallaq Eyntin nanaoaltin in ivicpa, yoan in tlein quiqujuhque.

Auh in ie iuhquj in otlatlaziviti in Quetzalcõtl, yoan in itquichtin toltreca. auh njmã ic oallaque in tlatetzavico. Eȳtin, in tlatlacatecolo, Vitzilobuchtli, Titlacaoan, Tlacavepã, i eixtin tlatetzãvique injc tlalpoliviz in tollan.

in iehoatl Titlacaoan, ie quipeoalti injc tlatetzavi, quilmach veuentõ ipan mocuep, ipan mixeuh, ipã moquixti, ovelcoliuh, ovelquaiztaz, ocomo, quaztapaton, njman ie ic iauh in ichã in Quetzalcoatl:

in oonia, njman ie ic quiteilhuja, nicnotiliznequi in tlacatl Quetzalcoatl:

njman quilhuique, nepa xiauh veventone, mococoialtia in tlacatl, ticamanaz,

njman njman quito in vevẽto, ca amo ça nicnotiliz, ça itech ninaxitiz,

quilvique, ca ie qualli oc xicchia, tla oc tictolvilini,

auh njman ie ic quinoonotza in Quetzalcoatl quilhuia, nopiltzintzine, aquin ovalla vevento mjtzmotilico iuhqui mopevilma, iuhquin amo tlaçalma, in tictonoca ça njman amo iaznequi, quitoa ca ça nicnotiliz in tlacatl,

njmã quito in Quetzalcoatl: ma oallauh, ma oalcalaqui, ca ichoatl in njcchia in ie macuil in ie matlac,

njman ic concalaquique ipan in Quetzalcoatl:

in vevento, njman ie ic quitlalloa quilhui noxviubtzine, tlacatle, quen ticmomachitia in monacaiotzin, ca njcan catquj in patli, yn oninjtzalnotquilili ma ticmiti,

auh njman quito in Quetzalcoatl: tla xioallauh veventze, otiquihjiovi, oticcisuh, ca ie macuil ie matlac, in nimichiã:

1. *Quiquiçahque*: probably *quiçahque* is meant.
2. Tezcatlipoca (Titlacauan), Huitzilopochtli, and Tolhuicaui, according to Lehmann (*op. cit.*, p. 79). Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 79) says that Tezcatlipoca descended from heaven by a rope of sol-leather, changed himself into an eagle during a game of ducks and drakes with Quetzalcoatl, drove him from Tula, and pursued him from city to city, and finally to Cholula.
2a. *Amoiaçaqui* was may be a copyist's error. We have follow Angel María Garibay, *Llave del nahuatl* (Otumba, Mexico: s.p., 1940), pp. 91, 135.
3. See Pl. 11.

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And then the old man replied to him: "My grandson, how, in sooth, is thy health?"

Then Quetzalcoatl said to him: "Verily, much do I ail in all parts. Nowhere am I well—my hands, my feet. In truth, my body is tired, as if it were undone."

And then the old one said to him: "Here is the potion, good, soothing, and intoxicating. If thou shalt drink of it, it will relieve and heal thy body. And thou shalt weep; thy heart will become troubled. Thou shalt think upon thy death. And also thou shalt think upon where thou shalt go."

Then Quetzalcoatl said: "Where am I to go, old one?"

Then the old man said to him: "Yea, thou shalt go there to Tollan-Tlapallan. A man there standeth guard, one already aged. Ye shall consult with each other. And when thou shalt return here, thou shalt again have been made a child."

On this, Quetzalcoatl was [much] moved. And the old man once more said: "Be of good cheer. Drink the potion."

Then Quetzalcoatl said: "Old man, I will not drink of it."

Then the old man said to him: "Drink of it; thou shalt feel a need [for it]. Nay, only place [some of it] before thee [as] thy [small] portion [in case thou feelest] thy desire [for it]." Taste only a little of it."

And Quetzalcoatl then tasted a little, and afterwards drank heartily of it.

Then said Quetzalcoatl: "What is this? It is very good. The sickness is now abated. Where went the pain? No longer am I sick."

Then the old man said: "Drink of it once again; the potion is good. Thou will thy body gain strength."

And as soon as he had once more drunk of it—all,—then he became rotted. Thereupon he wept, and greatly was he moved. Thus, at this time, was Quetzalcoatl aroused; his heart was quickened. No longer could he forget what had happened, but went on reflecting, realizing [that] indeed the devil had tricked him.

[273] And the potion which [the old man] had offered him, it is told, was white wine. And it is said that this [wine] was made of the sap of the maguey called teometl.[4]

auh njmá quilhui in veuetzo, nouiualnzine quen vel ticmomachitia, in monacaiotzin,

njman quilhuj in Quetzalcoatl: ca cenca noviil ninococoua acan veli in mamac, in nocnic, vel çoçotlaoa in nonacaio, inhoçi ciciotonj:

auh njmá quilhui in veuetzo, ca nican canpi, in patli cenca qualli, iamanqui, yoan tetech quiz, ixtla ticmitis, motech quiçaz, yoan quijamanilis in monacaio, yuá tichocaz, icnoiouaz in moiollo tiquilnamiquiz, in moniquiz. auh yoan vel ipan tiquilnamiquiz incampa tiaz.

njman quijto in Quetzalcoatl: campa niaz veuetzi:

njman quilhuj in veuetzo, ca ça tiaz in vmpa tullan tlapalan: oc tlacatl vmpa tlapia ie veuetlacatl, ixnonotzaquiz. auh in iquac tiualmocuepaz, oc ceppa tipiltontli timochiouaz,

njman ic moioleuh in Quetzalcoatl: auh in veuetzo ie no ceppa quilhuj, tlaeqe xocoiuiti, in patli,

njman quijto in Quetzalcoatl veuetzi ca amo niquiz,

njman quilhuj in veuetzo, ma ça xocoumjti timotolinis, ma çan nel noço mixpaui xocuitlali motonal motoliniz, ma çan achiuh xocuimopalehti.

auh in Quetzalcoatl: njman conpalo achiton: auh çatepil vel conjc,

njman quijto in Quetzalcoatl: den j? ca cenca, qualli, in cocolinili ca oc onpolo, campan oia cocolli cocoxo njnococoxa,

njman quilhuj in veuetzo, ca oc cc xocoxj ca qualli in patli ic chicaoua in monacaio,

auh niman ic ie no ceppa oc conjc, njman ic iviatic, njman ie ic choca vel ielleliquiça, ic vncan moioleuh in Quetzalcoatl, vncá tlapan in jiollo, nocuo conilcacaoia, ça ie in quimottiuecca in quimottiuecaia vel quioalmalacacho in tlacatecatzintl:

auh I patli quimaoac, quilnauh ichcatl in inuc vetli, yoan quil ichcatl in tzauhtli yuccaio ic tlachiualoli.

4. In Isler (Ethnica Klagiana, p. 373) and in Angel Maria Garibay K. (op. cit., p. 130), chemábuhi and xamábuhi are transcribed as chamábuhi and xamábuhi. The present version follows, however, both the Real Palacio MS and the Florentine Codex.

5. The medicinal qualities of teometl are described in Sahagún (Dibdin ed.), Vol. III, p. 238.

Fifth Chapter, which telleth of another fraud which the sorcerer Titlacauan wrought.

And behold another thing which Titlacauan did, thus casting a spell. He took the form and played the part of a stranger.[1] He walked about [with virile member] hanging [uncovered], and sold green *chilis*. He went to sit in the market place, before the palace entrance.

And the daughter of Uemac[2] [was] very fair. Many among the Toltecs desired her and sought her, that they might marry her. But to none would Uemac listen. He gave her to no one.

And this daughter of Uemac looked out into the market place and saw the stranger with [virile member] hanging [uncovered].

And when she had seen him, she went into the house. Thereupon she sickened; she became tense and inflamed [because of] her desire of the stranger's member.

And Uemac then learned that his daughter was sick. He said to the women who guarded her: "What hath happened? What hath she done? How began that which hath inflamed my daughter?"

Then the women who guarded her said to him: "It is he, the stranger who selleth green *chilis*. He hath inflamed and vexed her. Thus [it] began; thus sickness seized her."

And Uemac, the chief, thereupon commanded and said: "O Toltecs, let the green *chili* vending stranger be sought out; [let him] appear [before me]."

Thereupon was he sought everywhere. And when

Injć, macuilli Capitulo, itechpa tlatoa, in oc centlamantli tetzavitl, in quichiuh nacalli titlacacoan.

Auh iccatquj oc centlamantli, in quichiuh Titlacaoa, injc tlaetzavi, ipan moquixti, ipā mixcuh Tovenio, çan tlapilotinemj, chilchotl quinanamaca, onmotlalito tianquizco tecpā quijsoac:

auh injchpoch Vemac, cenca qualli, cenca mjec tlacatl in tulteca in quelevisia, in quitlania, in quimociosoatizquja, çan aiac quitlavelcaquili in Vemac: aiac quimacac!

auh in ichoatl injchpoch in Vemac oallachix in tianquizco, qujoalittac in tovenio tlapilotica.

auh in oquittac niman calac in calitic, njman ie ic mococoa, teponacivi, popoçaoa, iuhquin quimotolinj in jiuuh in tovenio,

auh in Vemac: njman quima in ie mococoa ichpoch, quimilvi in cihoa in quipia tle oax tle ay, quen opeuh in ie popoçaoa in nochpotzin,

njman quilvique in cihoa in quipiaia, ca ie in tovenio chilchonamacac, oquitlahtili, quitlavolinj, ic opeuh, ie ic ococoliacujc.

auh in Vemac in tlatoanj, njman ie ic tlanaoatia quim, tultecaie ma temolo in chilchonamacac tovenio, necia,

njman ie ic tlatemolo cēmanaoac: auh in iquac aiac

1. The corresponding Spanish text has: *"se bolvio, y parecio, como un gentil forastero, que se llama mexyco."* In the Bulmaro edition (Vol. III, pp. 138, 133, 140) the terms *mexyco* and *mexicano* are given as equivalent. See also Bulmaro (*op. cit.*, p. 274, n. 1), who refers to him throughout as a Mexican (*mexicano*).

2. Beljaud A. D. 994-1070, according to Lehmann (*op. cit.*, p. 42). Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 48) has him contemporary with Quetzalcoatl—*"aunque en la computacion era el que precedio en tiempo, Reinando Huemac; en la capitalidad, y Reboluciones este Quetzalcohuatl era superior, y como Pontifice Maximo."* Boturini (de Alva Tezozomoc, in *Historia del descubrimiento de los antiguos reyes de Tezcuco* (M. Tezozomoc-Comparon, ed.; Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1840), Vol. I, p. 6, identifies one with the other. Désiré Charnay, in *Ancient Cities of the New World* (tr. J. Gonino and H. S. Conant; New York: Harper, 1887) says the same. So does Paul Kirchhoff ("Los pueblos de la historia tolteca-chichimeca," *Revista mexicana de estudios antropológicos*, IV (1940), pp. 97—Shorewan), citing Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas*, I, 19-20) although the *Historia tolteca-chichimeca* makes him a child adopted by the Chichimecs (p. 79). Of Quetzalcoatl, Torquemada says: *"No dio qe'en los demas le sera Huemac, pares que pase primero que trate en qe'El sera semejante Correspondiente, El Imperio sus malos ser en nuebe semanas que de la otra media."* (See Chaps. xii, xiii.) Citing Ixtlilxochitl, p. 1, col. 1, Tezozomoc-Comparon says Huemac was an astrologer and sage who led the Toltecs and wrote the *Teoamoxtli*, a work dealing with the history, genealogy, moral principles, religious beliefs and ceremonies, philosophy, astrology, agriculture, and prophecy of the times. He died aged more than 300 years (p. 6, n. 1).

Commenting on the *Anales de Cuauhtitlan*, Tobar (*Collected Works*, Vol. III, Pt. 3, pp. 16-17) states that by the time of Huemac, the priestly office was occupied by a priest titled Quetzalcoatl, and separated from the civil office, held by Huemac. This passage corroborates the history of Huemac, which may also be found in Lehmann's *Geschichte der Rhetgebiete zwei Codicesien aus Mexico in der Veldigiana's Codex Chimalpopoca*. The text of this document, however, states that Huemac was a successor of Quetzalcoatl (see *Codex Chimalpopoca*, pp. 13 ff).

539 no one came forth, thereupon the herald cried out from Tzonmimpetl. He said: "O Toltecs, [if] perchance ye see the green *chili* vending stranger, bring him here. The chief seeketh him."

Thereupon they looked and went everywhere; they went scattered through Tula as they looked. And when they had tired themselves and seen him nowhere, then they came [back] to tell the chief that verily nowhere could they see him.

And afterwards [the stranger] appeared of his own will in the same place where he had [formerly] come to sit when first he was seen.

And when he had been seen, then they went in haste to tell [the chief]. They said: "The stranger hath appeared."

Then Uemac said: "Let him come at once."

Then the Toltecs quickly went to seize the stranger. They brought him before the chief.

And when they had brought him, thereupon the chief said to him: "Where is thy home?"

Then [the other] replied to him: "I am a stranger. I sell little *chilis*."

Then the chief said to him: "Where hast thou been, stranger? Don thy breech clout; cover thyself."

Then [the stranger] replied to him: "Nay, but to this manner are we accustomed."

And the chief then said to him: "But thou hast afflicted my daughter. Thou art the one who must heal her."

Then [the stranger] said to him: "My dear stranger, my dear lord, this may not be. [Rather] slay me, kill me, let me die. What sayest thou to me? I am not the only one who selleth green *chilis*."

And then the chief said: "Nay, thou shalt heal her. Have no fear."

And thereupon they arranged his hair and they bathed him. Then they anointed him, they gave him a breech clout and girt him with it.

And when they had arrayed him, thereupon the chief said to him: "Look upon my daughter there where she is guarded."

And when he went there, then he lay with her, and then the woman was well. Later [the stranger] became the chief's son-in-law.

neci, njman ie ic tzatzi in tecpoiotl in tzatzitepec, quito tultecaie ac canah anquitta chilchonamacac tovenio, xiqualvicacan, quimotemolia in tlacatl,

njman ie ic tlatemoa, novian nemj, quixaqualcuicuenni in tullan injc tlatemoa: auh in ocontiuhtlatique in acan quitta, njman jc quinnonotzaco in tlatoanj, in ca acan qujtta,

auh çatepan monomanexti çan ie no vncan in motlalico in vncan achtopa monexti:

auh in oittoc, njman quinnonotztivetzito, quilhuique, ca onez in tovenio,

njmā ic quito in Vemac: ma callauh iciuhca,

njman ic caantivetzito in tulteca in tovenio, quivicaque ixpan in tlatoanj:

auh in oconvicaque njman ie ic quilvia in tlatoanj, can mochan,

njman ic quilhuj ca ni tovenio, chiltzintli njcnamaquilia,

niman quilhuj in tlatovanj, canjn mach tinemj tovčioie, ma ximomaxtlati, ma ximotlapacho,

njman quilhuj ca çan ie tiuhque:

auh in tlatovanj njman quilhui ca otictlatolinj in nochpotzin in jn te ticpatiz.

auh njman quilhuj noveniotzin, nopiltzi ca amo velitis, xinechmjcti, xinechtlctlati, ma nimiquj, tlein tinechilvia amo çan njnochilchonamaquilia.

auh njmā quito in tlatovanj ca amo ticpatiz, maca ximomauhti:

auh njman ie ic quixima, cualtia in ocenaaltique, njman ie ic coça quimamaxtlatia, quitlatlalpilia,

auh in oc ocmcauhque, niman ie ic quilhuja in tlatovanj ziquijta in nochpotzi, in vmpa pialo.

auh in oonin njman ie ic itech aci, njman ic patic in cihuatl, çatepan imo mochiuh in tlatoanj.

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Sixth Chapter, which telleth how the Toltecs were angered because of the marriage of the daughter of Uemac; and of another work of sorcery which Tlilacauan wrought.

And upon this, the Toltecs jested about [Uemac]; they mocked him and spoke in malice of him. They said: "And so the chief hath taken a stranger as son-in-law!" Thereafter the chief summoned the Toltecs; he said to them: "I have heard that jests are made of me, that already I am laughed at, for I have made the stranger my son-in-law. And this [shall ye do]—by deceit abandon him [while fighting] at Çacatepec and Coatepec."

And thereupon the Toltecs announced war; they all set out. Thereupon they went, that they might leave the son-in-law [to his fate].

And when they had gone off to war, thereupon they planted [apart][1] the stranger and all the dwarfs and cripples.

When they had planted them [apart], thereupon the Toltecs departed, to capture men—to take men from their foes, the Coatepeca.

And the stranger said to all the dwarfs and cripples: "Have no fear. Here we shall destroy them; here, by our hands, they will meet their doom."

And after this, thereupon the enemy took after the Toltecs. They thought to themselves that [the foe] would there slay the stranger, from whom in this manner they went, leaving him tricked, leaving him to die.

And upon this they hurried to inform the chief, Uemac. They said to him: "Lo, we have gone, abandoning the stranger, who was thy beloved son-in-law."

And Uemac rejoiced exceedingly, for he thought that [his death] was fact. For he was ashamed of the stranger whom he had made [his] son-in-law.

And this stranger, when they had gone leaving him abandoned in battle, when their foes, the Coatepeca and the Çacatepeca had already come up, thereupon commanded the dwarfs and the hunchbacks, and said to them: "Pay good heed! Have no fear!

Injc chiquacē capitulo, itechpa tlatoa in quenjn qualanque tulteca, in ipampa in inenamicuiliz in Vemac ichpuch. Yoan oc centlamātli tetzavitl in quichjuh tidacaoan.

Auh niman ie ic ica camanaloa in tulteca, quiquelloa, ica motetenqueloa, quitoaia mach tovenio oquimomonti tlatoanj, çatepan quinnotz in tulteca in tlatoani quimjlhui, ca onjccac in ie noca camanalolo, in ie noca vetzco, in tovenio onjcnomonti: auh injn ma xoconnaoalcaoati in çacatepec, in coatepec.

auh njman ie ic iaotlatoa in tulteca, cemolini, njman ie ic vi in quicaoazque, in montli:

auh in oniaque in iaoc, njman ie ic quitlaltoca in tovenio, yoan in ixquichtin tzapame, in vilame,

yn oquimontlaltocaque, njmā ie ic vi in tlatlacaanazque in tulteca in quintlacaanazque in jniaovan in coatepeca,

auh in tovenio quimilhuja in ixquichtī tzapame, in vilame, macamo ximomauhtica, nican tiquinpopolonque, njcan tomac tlamizque.

auh in ie iuhqui njman ie ic quinoaltoca in tulteca in jniaooan, in momatque ca vncan quimictizque in tovenio, in juhqui ocōnaoalcaoato, quimiquizcaoato.

auh njman ie ic vitze quinonotzazque in tlatoanj in Vemac, quilhuique, ca otoconcaoato in tovēio, in momomtzin ocatca.

auh in Vemac: omca papac in momo aço nelli, ace iuhqui, iehica ca ic pinaviztlamatia in tovenio, in oquimomomtica,

auh in ichoual in tovenio in vmpa quicaoato iaopan, in iquac ie vitze in jniaoan, in coatepeca, in çacatepeca. njman ie ic q'nnaoatia in tzapame, in tepotzome, quimilhuj omca tle anquimati, macamo ximomauhtican, macamo ximauhca çaneq'cua, ma-

1. Thirteen literally, bury or plant in the ground. Possibly a figurative meaning may be assumed.

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Be not cowards! Lose not heart! [For] already I know that ye will take them all captive, that in some manner we shall slay all of them!"

And when their foes came upon them and fell upon them, then they verily attacked and trampled over them. They slew them; they brought ruin on them; they destroyed them. Multitudes without number they slew of their foes.

And when the chief heard of it, he was greatly bemused and saddened. Upon this he summoned the Toltecs and said to them: "Let us go to meet our beloved son-in-law."

And the Toltecs then surged and burst forth. Thereupon they accompanied the chief; they went dispersed about him; they went circling him, to meet [the stranger]. The Toltecs took their panoply [with them]—the quetzal feather head device, and the turquoise mosaic shield. When they reached him, thereupon they gave and presented him the quetzal feather head device and the turquoise mosaic shield —all their array [which] they had [with them].

With [this] they proceeded dancing; they came dancing the captives' dance; they came bearing [the array] on their backs. They came singing in his honor; the song came forth resounding and reëchoing. They came blowing flutes in his honor; the shell trumpets roared and rang out. The shell trumpets approached, growing in sound.

And when they went to reach the palace, then they pasted the stranger's head with feathers, and they anointed him with yellow paint. And his face was spread with a red unguent. And all his friends were thus adorned.

And then Uemac said to his son-in-law: "Lo, now are the hearts of the Toltecs satisfied that thou art my son-in-law. Thou hast done well. Be received on this sail. Rest thy feet."

camo ximocuetlanocan, ie ne nicmati, axmuchintin antlamaque, çaoquexiaquichti tiquinmictiaque.

auh in oipanoaco, in oinpancholoco, in jniaoaan, njmã in ca ieoaque, quinquoquextinoque, quinmictique, quimixtlatique, quimixpoloque, cenca vel mjequintin, amo çan tlapoalhin in q'unjctique, in jniaoan.

auh in oquicac in tlatoanj, cenca motlapololhi, yoã motoquipacho, njman ie ic quinnotza in tulteca quimjlhuj, ma ticnaxniquiti, yn axmomotzin:

auh in tulteca njman ie tzomoconque, çanoaque, njman ie ic quivica in tlatoanj, quitepevitivi, cololvitivj in tenamiquizque, in tulteca intlatqui ietiuh in quetzalapanecaiotl, yoan in xjuhchimalli, in oacique itech njman ie ic quitlamamaca, cõmacaque, in quetzalapanecaiotl, yoã in xiuhchimalli, in izquich intlatquj ietia,

ipã mitotitivitz, momalinotitivitz, motelimantivitz, motimalotivitz, momamantivitz, quicuicatitivitzc, cujcatl zauhtivitz, cuicatl caoantivitz, quitlapichilitivitzc, in quiquiztli milintivitz, i tecciztli, hoaoalacativitz,

auh in oacito in tecpan, njman quipotonique, in itzfotecõ, yoan tecoçauhtica coçaque. yoã mjxtlapalhoatzalvi, yoan muchintí iuh muchichiuhque, injcniom:

auh çatepan quilhuj in Vemac in jmon, ca axcan pachivj in jniollo tulteca, injc tinomon otitlacnelli, ma tlahtitech zaci, ma xjcmocevilj in mocaitzin.

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Seventh Chapter, where is related yet another set of magic which the sorcerer brought to pass so that the Toltecs died as they performed penances and danced.

A second work of sorcery this demon [wrought]: When he had been painted with yellow feathers, when he had beaten [his enemies], he then brought it about that they should dance and sing, that they should intone a song.

Thereupon the herald made his cry, from the summit of Tzatzitepetl; he cried out to and informed those in all the world over. Verily everywhere they heard the cry of the herald. And very swiftly all came [to Tula].

And when this was done, then [the sorcerer] went there to Texcalpan. And everyone, all the vassals, went [with him]. And when all the youths and maidens had gathered together, they could not be counted; they were very numerous.

Thereupon the demon began to sing. He sounded the drum; he beat his ground drum. Thereupon all danced; they went as if leaping; all grasped hands; [or] took hold of each other from behind. With much contentment was it sung; [the sound] of the song resounded, and rose and fell.

And the song which was chanted [was] only [one] which he then invented.

And when he intoned the song, right then they answered it. From his lips they took the song.

And the singing and dancing began at dusk. And when it ceased, [it was] midnight.

And as all danced, [as] the movement was vibrant and most intense, very many then fell on the crags in the canyon. All died there, and then were turned into rocks.

And [as for] the others at the craggy canyon, the demon then broke the bridge. And the bridge was of stone. Forthwith all fell there where they crossed the water. All turned into rocks.

And how this was done, not the Toltecs understand. It was as if they were besotted.

Inj chicome capítulo: vncā motenecca in oc centlamantli tetzavitl in quichiuh naoalli, injc mjeque tulteca: injc maccoaia, mjtoloia.

Injc ontlamantli tetzavitl, in iehoatl in tlacatecolutl, in iquac omopotoni tocivitica, in iquac ontepeuh, njman ie ic qujiocoia, in cujcuicanoz, in cujcamanaz,

njmā ie ic tzatzi in tecpoiotl, in tzatzitepetl icpac, ontetzatzilia, ontenotzaza, icemaconaoac, vel novilā quioalcaquja, in itzatzilic in tecpoiotl, auh çan vel iciuhca oalazcoaia.

auh in ie iuhqui, njman ic ompa ia in jexcalapa, yoan ixq'ch tlacatl ia in maceualli. auh in oc̄quiz in ixquich in telpochtli in ichpocōtli, amo çan tlapoaltin, vel ixachintin,

njmā ie ic pepa in cujca in tlacatecuhtl, tlatzotzona, quitzotzona, in jvevetl, njman ie ic netotilo, iuhqujn tlachocholivi, nchaano, netujtlanaoalo, cenca pacoa, in cujcn, xaxamacatimanj in cujcatl, yoan caoantimanj:

auh in cujcatl, in mecoaia çan vncan in quipicticaca.

auh in iquac cuicatlaçaia, çan njmā qujnanquilaia itenpā canaia in cuicatl.

auh in pecaia in cujcoanolintli tlapoiaoa: auh in mocaoaia tlatlapitzalizpā.

auh in iquac netotiloia tlatlatzoqujvia, nczotzocoluia, cenca miequjntin ōmotepeoaia in tepexic, in ajauhco, mochintin vmpa miquja, njman teme mocuepaia.

auh in oc coqujntin texcalahuhco, in tlacatecuhtl njmā conpatec in panooanj. auh in panooanj tel cenca, çan njmā mochintin vncā ōvemquc, in ajl in vncan panoca, moch teme mocuepque.

auh in jnh mochioaia y, socmo quen qujnaxia in tulteca, iuhqujn oivinxiq.

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

539 And many times was there singing and dancing there at Tezcalpan. And as many times as there was song and dance, so many times was there slaughter. All were dashed upon the crags.

They fell; verily, the Toltecs destroyed themselves.

auh miecpa cujcoanoloia in ẅcan tzcalapan, auh in quezquipa, cujcoanoloia no izquipa micoaia, netepexiviloia tepexic.

in onnetepeoaloia vel mixtlatiaia in tulteca.

Eighth Chapter, which telleth of another act of magic which that same sorcerer wrought, whereby yet many more Toltecs died.

Behold yet another [act of sorcery] which the demon brought to pass.

It is said that once upon a time he took the form of a valiant warrior. He commanded the herald, the crier, that he should cry to the whole world that they come hence.

The crier said: "Let all men come! Let all the vassals come here! Ye shall go there to Xochitlan. The floating gardens will be harvested."

Thereupon came all the vassals. They came to the flower garden. (And as for naming it Xochitlan: they say it was the flower field of Quetzalcoatl.)

And when the Toltecs had come, gathered and massed together, thereupon the brave warrior slew them; he smote them; he beat the backs of their heads; in sooth, many [of them], without number, died at his hands. For he slew them.

And the rest of them, who indeed fled running, who were in headlong flight, went fleeing from his hands. As they went off, [seeking to] escape, as they ran, they injured one another and there they died. And still others trampled and crushed one another. All died there.

Injc chicuey capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, in oc centlamantli tetzavitl, in quichiuh çan ie no iehoatl naoalli, injc oc cẽca miequintin micqne tulteca.

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Izcatqui oc centlamantli, yoan in quichiuh in tlacateculotl,

quil ceppa tequioa ipan moquixti, quinaoatiaia in tecpoiotl, in tzatzinj injc ontetzatziliz cemanonaoac injc oalviloaz,

quitoaia in tecpoiotl, ma ixquich tlacatl oallauh, ma ixquich tlacatl oalolinj in maceoalli, vmpa antlamativitze in xochitla, chinantecoz, tlatecoz,

njmã ie ic vitze in ixquichtin maceoaltin oallamatiaque in xochitla (auh injc moteneoa xochitla quil xochimjlpa catca in Quetzalcoatl).

auh in ocenquixnac, in ocenquizque, in otecpichauhq̃, in tulteca, njmã ie ic temictia, tevivitequi, tecuexcochvivitequj in tequioa, vel miec amo çan tlatlapoalli, in jmac mjc, in quintlatlati,

auh in oc cequintin in çan cholonquja, in mocholtizquja, in jmacpa ieoazquja in jmatitlanpa quiçazquja, in motlalovaia, in motlavitequja, njmã miquja, auh in oc cequintin moqueqeçaia, mopapatzoaia, moch vncan mjcque.

[p. 24 is blank]

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1598) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

539 **Ninth Chapter, which telleth of yet another work of magic which this same sorcerer wrought, by which many more Toltecs perished.**

Behold still another act of sorcery which the demon did. He came to seat himself in the middle of the market place. He called himself Tlacasepan or Cuexcoch[tzin]. There he caused to dance [a figure] like a child. (They say it was Uitzilopochtli.) In his hand he held him as he made him dance.

And when the Toltecs saw this, thereupon they crowded toward him; they stumbled toward him in order to see it. Very many men were there trampled and died in the press as [the others] crushed them to death.

And when thus many times it came to pass that large numbers died in this way, as they looked while he made [the figure] dance, this same demon[1] said, with shouts, "O Toltecs, what sort of sorcery is this? Is it not an omen of evil that one is made to dance? As for this one, let him die; let him be stoned!"

Then they stoned him. He fell under the stones. And when this was done, [his body] thereafter stank; it smelt quite frightful; in truth, it wounded the head. And wheresoever the wind carried the stench, there the common folk died.

And when already very many men had thus died of its fumes, thereupon to the Toltecs this same demon said: "Let this dead one be cast away; let him be thrown out. For already his odor destroyeth [men]. Let him be dragged away."

And the Toltecs thereupon put a rope about [the body] and then [sought to] drag it away.[2] And now when they tried to heave it, they could not move it. It was very heavy—this, to which at first they had paid little heed, of which they had thought as of little import.

Then a message went out, and the herald said: "Let all men come here! Bring here your heavy ropes that ye may go and cast away the dead one."

And when the Toltecs came to gather together, thereupon they fastened the dead one with ropes.

1. Commanded, in the Aztec text, is probably meant to be understood.
2. Sic 31. 32.

Injc chicuasnj capitulo: itechpa tlatoa in oc no centlamantli tetzavitl, in çan ie no hoatl quichiuh nacalli, injc oc cenca vellapanavia ixpoliuhque tulteca.

Iaca oc centlamantli in mochiuh in tlacateculotl tianquiznepâtla in oalmotlalia, quimotocaioti: Tlacavepan, anoço cuexcoch, vncâ quitotiaia iuhquin piltontli (quilmach iehoatl in Vitzilobuchtli) imac quiquetzaia in quitotiaia,

auh in oquittaque in tulteca, niman ie ic ivjc otoquivi, ivjc onmotepeoa in quittaque, vel mjec tlacatl in vncan quequeçaloia, in patzmiquia, in quinpatzmjctiaia,

auh in ie mjecpa iuh muchioa in miequjntin ie miquj, in quittaia in teitotia, ça ie no ie in cacateculotl in tzatzic quito, tultecaie tlen oc ie tetzauitl? anno totetzauh in teitotia. auh injn ma miquj, ma tetepacholo,

njman ic quitetepachoque tetica vetz: auh in ie iuhquj njman ic ic yiaia, vel temamauhti injc yias, vel tetzôvitec auh incampa quivica iehecatl in jiaca njman ic miquja in macoalti.

auh in iquac ie mjec tlacatl ic miquj yn jiaca, njmâ ie ic quimilhuj in tulteca, çan ie no ie tlacateculotl quito, injn mjcquj ma vetzi, ma motlaça ca ie tlaixpoloa yn jiaializ, ma movilana.

auh in tulteca njmâ ie ic quimecaiotia, njman ie ic quivilana: auh in iquac ie quivilana haquecoa, cenca ietic, in achtopa atle ipan quijta ca quimoxictica,

çatepan njmâ ie ic tzatzioa. auh quito in tecpaiotl, ma inquich tlacatl oallauh: anquimolcuiaque amovpanmecauh, motlaçotiuh in mjcquj.

auh in ocmopiçoa in tulteca, njmâ ie ic quimome-

539 Then the Tolteca murmured; they said to themselves: "O Toltecs, along with it! Let it be pulled!"

But they could not then raise it; they could not move it. And when one of the ropes broke, then died all. As many as extended along the rope tumbled; they fell all mingled together, and then died.

And when they could in no way drag it, when they could not approach it, thereupon the demon said to the Toltecs: "O Toltecs, he hath need of his song."

Thereupon he chanted the song for the Toltecs. He intoned: "Drag away our log, Tlacuepan the demon."

And as they chanted, forthwith they thus made the dead one move;[3] they came forward with it; they proceeded shouting. When a rope [again] snapped, then on all of them the log fell, so that it ran over them. And many were indeed crushed.[4] So were they crushed that thus they died.

And when all the rest who had gone to cast away the dead one, Tlacuepan, thereupon turned back, it was as if they paid no heed to all that had been done to them. No longer did they consider it an evil omen; [they were] as if besotted.

caiocõa in micqui, njmã ie ic icaoaca in tulteca, quimilhuja tultecaie macuele, ma tlatlãnjlo.

auh çan njmã amo queca, avel colinja: auh I ce cetemj mecatl njmã ixquichtin micqui in ixquintin itech onoque mecatl, vetzi monemepanotiverri, njmã miquja.

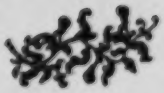
auh in iquac in çan njmã avel colinja in avel itlan aquj, njmã ie ic quimilhuja, in tulteca in tlacateculod. Toltecaie icujc quinequi,

njman ie ic quimevilia in tulteca in cujcatl, cucuh, xitlavilanaca ie tovepan tlacavepan tlacateculotl.

auh in oquevi, quin ie ic celinique in micqui, quimotlalochtia, quicaoatztivi, ice cotoni mecatl, njmã muchiotin inpan inuh in vepãtli, in jnpan motlalos, yoan miequintin in can moquequexque. inin opapatzoque, ic mjcque.

auh in oquixquichtin mocauhque quitlaçato in mjcqui, in tlacavepan, njman ie ic oalmocuepa, iuhquin soc tle ipan quitta in ixquich inpan muchioaia, aocmo quitetzauhmatia, iuhquin oivjotiq.

3. Possibly the Aztec should have read *motlalojque* rather than *motlaloque*.
4. Cox, in the Aztec text, should probably be *pan*.



Tenth Chapter, which telleth of still another work of magic which this same sorcerer brought to pass, by which he cast a spell on Tula.

Behold also how the devil brought evil to Tula.

It is said that a white kite, with wounded head pierced by an arrow, flew by, passing to and fro over the Toltecs, not far [above] them. It kept nearing the earth as it flew back and forth. They saw it clearly as they stood and lingered looking upward.

Behold too yet another act of sorcery which was taken as an evil omen for the Toltecs. It is said that a mountain, called Çacatepetl, burned. By night, it was evident from afar how it burned. The flames rose high. When the Toltecs saw it, they became very restless; they raised their hands to heaven; there was great anxiety. All cried out, all shouted together. No longer was there tranquillity; no longer was there peace. And when they saw this omen of evil, they said: "O Toltecs, now is all in truth going [from us]; already the power of the Toltecs goeth. Yea, we are forsaken. What shall we do? Whither shall we go? O unhappy we! Let us take heart!"

Behold yet another act of sorcery. It is said that stones rained on the Toltecs. And when the stones rained, then a large sacrificial stone fell from the heavens; there at Chapoltepecuitlapilco[1] it came falling down. And afterwards a little old woman lived there. She sold [paper] flags; she walked about saying: "[Here are] your little flags." And any destined to die said: "Buy me one," and thereupon went where the sacrificial stone was. None asked: "What now dost thou do?" They were as if lost.

Injc matlactli cpâmâc: itechpa tlatoa, in oc cequj 539
tetzavitl, in ça ie no iehoatl quichiuh zacalli, injc
tlatetzaui tullî.

Inca youn injc tlacatêvi in tlacatecuhtl, in tulîan,
quilmach intac cuixi, tlatzontectica mjtoznenca,
pachoznenca, mocanauhtênenca, in japan tulteca
amo veca in quiçaznenca in tlalli injc mocanauhti-
nenca, vel quiçaz in acopa conizaznenca, conacopeiz-
tênenca.

Inca youn oc cêtlamantli in tetzavitl, in jntetzauh [187]
mochiuh in tulteca, quil centetl tepetl itoca çacatepetl
tlatlaia, in iocaltica, veca necia, injc tlatlaia in tlecue-
çallotl veca iconia, in iquac quiçaz tulteca, vel
mocomonaia, macomanaia, maltimoquetzaia, in ne-
tenvitecoia, in netenpapavilcoia, auc tlatlaca mamanca,
auc yvian iclonia, auh injc quiçaz itla tetzavitl,
quitoaia, Tultecaie ca ie izquich ca ictivi, ie iauh in
tultecaiotl, ca otitlatlaztiviloque quênel campanel
tiazque, o totlavelitic, ximellaquacuel.

Inca oc centetl in tetzavitl: quil inpan tequjzauh
in tulteca, auh in otequjzauh, çatepan ualtemoc illuj-
cacpa centetl vej techcatl vmpa in chapoltepecuitla-
pilco in vetzico, auh çatepan, onnenca illamato,
papannamacaia, quiçotinêca ma amopetzin, auh in
aquiqoc, monequiznja quitoaia ma zinechoncovi,
njman ie ic iauh in vmpa ca techcatl, aiac quitoaia
in tlein ie tay iuhqujn otlapoloq.

1. Chapoltepecuitlapilco: an etymology, see Seler, *Libro del tributo*, p. 109. Presumably the place was near Chapultepec, today a suburb of Mexico City. Sahagún (accompanying Spanish text) regards *cuitlatl* as a place name (Tlacolula), an alternative source of Chapoltepecuitlapilco.

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[p. 28 is blank]

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539 **Eleventh Chapter, in which is told yet another work of magic which this same sorcerer wrought, by which he mocked them, by which Tula was undone, and through which he slew not a few Toltecs.**

Behold also the manner in which sorcery was practised against the Toltecs.

It is said that the food soured—very bitter did it become. It could not be placed in one's mouth; none of the Toltecs could eat the food. In truth, so were the Toltecs mocked.

And an old woman (they said and considered that it was the devil who appeared and took the form of an old woman) came to sit there at Xochitlan. There she toasted maize. And the maize which she toasted spread its fragrance over all the region. In truth it expanded and spread among all who dwelt [there]. All over the land was spread the odor of the toasted maize.

And when they smelled the toasted maize, the Toltecs found [the smell] good; they found it satisfying and pleasing. And when they smelled it, quickly they came here and swiftly, reaching here in only a very few moments.[1] ([For] it is said that the Toltecs thought no place distant; they thought nowhere [too] remote. Even though they might live far away, swiftly they arrived, and also [so] rapidly [returned] whence they had come.)

And then, as many as had gathered together she slew and destroyed—all. Not then might they make their return. A great mockery was made of the Toltecs, since the devil had slain very many of them. It is said that in sooth he made sport of the Toltecs.

Injc matlactli vce, capitulo: vncan motenevia in oc cenelmanandi tetzavitl in çan ie no ieh quichiuh nacalli injc teca mavilti, injc tlaixpolo tollan, in amo çan quexquich quinmjcti in tulteca.

Inca yoan injc motetzauiqve in tulteca,

quil in tonacaiotl chichix, chichipatic, chichopatzôtic, muchiuh; aoc tecamac tlalilcia, çan nimâ aoc vel quiquaia in tulteca, in tonacaiotl vel in ca mecacaiauh in tulteca.

auh ce illamato (quitoa quil ieh in tlacateculotl ipan omiauh, cõmixiptlati in illamato) vmpa motlalito in xochitla, vmpa teycequjaia, auh in izquitl in quicequia vel onjiaia icematonaoac, vel inpan onmelonja, onmotecaia icematonaoac tlaca, cenelalli motecaia yn jiializ in izquitl.

auh in iquac quihnecuja in izquitl in tulteca quivelicamatia cahujcamatia, quivelmatia. auh in iquac quinecuja, ycniuhca oalacitivetzia cenca çan achitoncâ in oalacia (quil i tulteca hacan in veca quimatia hacan veca quimatia, in mancl veca nemja, iciuhca onacitivetzia, no iciuhca, in canjn oalcuia).

auh in iquac in quexq'chin cenquiçaia muchintin vncan quinmjctiaia, quiocenpopoloaia, aocmo imilech innecuepal quichioaia, vel in ca mavilti in tulteca, injc cenca mjequintin quinmjcti, in tlacatecuhtl, mjtoa vel motuhtecatlamachti.

1. See N. 12.

[p. 30 is blank]

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Twelfth Chapter, which telleth how Quetzalcoatl departed and left in flight when he went to Tlapallan,[1] and of the many things which he did on the way.

And still many more acts of sorcery were done to the Toltecs in order to destroy Tula.

And when these things happened, Quetzalcoatl was now troubled and saddened, and thereupon was minded that he should go—that he should abandon his city of Tula.

Thereupon he made ready. It is said that he had everything burned—his house of gold, his house of coral; and still other works of art, the marvelous and costly things, all [of these] he buried, he hid there in treacherous places: either within the mountains or in the canyons.

And, moreover, the cacao trees he changed into mesquites. And all the birds of precious [feather]—the quetzal, the blue cotinga, the red spoonbill—all [these] he sent away beforehand. Taking the road before him, they went toward Anahuac.[2]

And when this was done, then he set forth; thereupon he followed the road.

Then he came to arrive at a place [called] Quauhtitlan. A very thick tree arose [there], and very tall. He stood by it. Then he called for his mirror. Thereupon he looked at himself; he saw himself in the glass and said: "Verily, now I am an old man." Then he named [the place] Uevequauhtitlan.[3] And then he cast and hurled stones at the tree. And as he stoned it, [the stones] remained firmly encrusted and affixed to the great tree. Always thus have they been visible. Thus are they seen; beginning at the foot, they rise there to its top.

And as Quetzalcoatl followed the road, they went blowing flutes for him.

Once more he came to rest at another place. Upon a stone [Quetzalcoatl] rested himself. He supported

Injc matlactli vmome capitulo: itechpa tlatoa, injc cholo injc cholo moielti Quetzalcoatl ynjc vmpa iuh tlapalla, yoã in quezquitlamantli quichiuh vtlica.

Auh oc mjec tlamantli, in tetzavitl inpan muchiuh in tulteca, ynjc tlalpoliuh in tullan,

auh in ie iuhquj, in Quetzalcoatl, in je mamana, in ie motequipachoa, njmã ie ic quilnamiquj in iaz, in quitlalcavix yn ialtepeuh in tullan,

njman ie ic mocencaoa, quiltnach muchi qujtlatitia, in iteucujtlacal, in itapachcal, yoan oc cequi tultecatlatquitl in maviztlanquj, in tlaçotlãqui, much qujtocac, much qujtlati, in vncan in ovican yn aço tepetl itic, in anoço atlauhco.

auh yoan in cacaoquavitl ipã quicueptia mizquitl. auh in ixq'ch in tlaçotototl, in quetzaltototl, in xiuhtototl, in tlauhquechol muchintin achtopa qujmioa, ixpan onotiaque, anaoacpa itztiaque.

auh in ie iuhqui, njman ie ic vmpeoa njmã ie ic otlatoca,

njman jc acico cecnj quauhtitlan, cenca tomaoac in quavitl hicaca: yoan cenca viac, itech onmoquetz, njman ie ic quioallitlan in itezcauh, njman ie ic onmotac, õmotezcavi, quito, ca ie niveve, njmã ic vncan tlatocaioti vevequauhtitlan, njman ie ic quimomotla quitetepachoa in quavitl: auh injc quitetepacho tetl vel itech cacalac, moçacalo itech in vevequavitl, oc no çan iuh onezticaca iuh ittaloia, tlatzintlan peuhtica, iuh vmpanvetzticac in iquac.

auh in iquac otlatocaia Quetzalcoatl quitlapichilitivia.

oc ceppa mocevico cecni tepan onmotlali, moma-

1. See Chapter IV, supra; also Garibay, op. cit., p. 286, or Ixtl., op. cit., p. 13.

2. Anahuac, Náhuatl Anáhuac, in Commander Alexander Francisco de Paula Tablada, Diccionario de Mejicanismos: Colección de Locuciones Viciosas, Anticuadas, Bárbaras, Provincianas, Neologismos, Arcaismos, Galicismos, Anglicismos, Indianismos, Etc. (Mexico: Librería de la Vda. de Ch. Bouret, 1912), p. 29, Anahuac is defined as "Nombre que los antiguos mexicanos daban á la parte de la costa del Golfo de México que se extiende desde el río Pánuco hasta el río Coatzacoalcos, inclusive la península de Yucatán." [Name which the ancient Mexicans gave to the part of the coast of the Gulf of Mexico which extends from the Pánuco River to the Coatzacoalcos River, including the peninsula of Yucatán.]

3. Ixtl., op. cit., p. 13, says that the name always referred to the "valley of Mexico, the Texcocan region, and the lands of Cholula and Tlaxcala." [Valle de México, región texcocana, y tierra de Cholula y Tlaxcala.]

Of the places, names mentioned, a note in Seler's Codex Vaticanus B (p. 280, n. 1) suggests it might better read Aztec equivalent "auf der Nasenspitze am," i. e. "on the nose of the Lord of the Dawn," or "on your nose," i. e. "on the speaking instrument in front of your face."

4. Cf. Garibay, op. cit., p. 288.

539 himself [on it] with his hands. Thereupon he looked toward Tula, and then wept; as one sobbing he wept. Now he shed two hail stones as tears over his face; they rolled over his face. Thus fell [tear] drops [which] verily pierced holes in the stone.

matlaquechi, njmaa ie ic ontlachia in tullan, yoan njmaa ie ic choca, iubqujn tritzicunoachoca, ie on tecivitl pixavi yxaio ixtlan moteteca yn itxaio: injc chichipica vel qujcocuionj in tetl.

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Thirteenth Chapter. Here are told the signs which Quetzalcoatl left in place upon the stone with his hands, when he rested himself there, where he sat.

And as he supported himself by his hands on the rock, he left deep imprints, as if [it were] on mud [that] he had planted the palms of his hands. Likewise his buttocks remained well marked on the rock where he was. Verily they are [now] visible. Because of the hollows, [this place] was named Temacpalco.

And then when he arose he came to reach a place name Tepanoayan, [where] there was water. A river burst forth [which] was very wide and long. [Quetzalcoatl] laid stones and made there a bridge. Then he crossed over on it, and so it is named Tepanoayan.[1]

And once more he set forth and then came to reach another point, a place named Coxapan. And when he was there, devils sought to turn him back. They tried to send him back and stop him.

They said to him: "Where dost thou go? Where art thou bound? Why goest thou now leaving the city? To whom dost thou go leaving it? Who will perform the penances?"

Then Quetzalcoatl said to the demons: "Indeed, in no way can [anyone] force [me]; for I must go [on]."

Then the demons said to Quetzalcoatl: "Whither goest thou?"

Then Quetzalcoatl said to them: "I go there to Tlapallan, for I go to learn [my fate]."

And then they said to him: "What wilt thou do?"

Then Quetzalcoatl replied: "I am called hence. The sun hath called me."

Then they said to him: "It is well. Go, leaving all the works of craftsmanship."

Then he left all the arts—the casting of gold, the cutting of precious stones, the carving of wood, sculpturing in stone, the knowledge of the scribes, the art of feather working. All [these] they wrested from him by force; they made him abandon all; they seized all from him.

And when this was done, Quetzalcoatl thereupon cast his jewels into [a spring of] water, and then they

Injc matlactli vmey capitulo: vncan mjtoa in machiotl in qujtlatlalitia, Quetzalcoatl in jmatica in jpan tetl, in vncan mocevi, in vncã motlalli. 539 103

Auh injc, moamatlaquechi tepan vel ihilar, juhquinma çoq'pan oncacalac in imacpal, çã ie no ivi in itzintamal, injc catca tepan, no hiylac, ompopolac, vel neneztica, injc cocoionquj, ic vncan tlatocaioti temacpalco.

auh njmã ic oaleoac in acico itocaiocan tepanocoian, atl icac, atl quizticac, vel patlaoac, patlactic, in tetl contecaspanoanj conchiuh, njmã ic ipan onpanoc, yoan njman ic tlatocaioti tepanoaia.

auh oc ceppa vmpeuh njman acito cecnj itocaiocan coahapan: auh in oncãn j vncan quioalcuepaxquja in tlatlacatecuio, quioalilochtixquja, qujjacatzacuilizquja,

quilhuique can tiauh, can tiztiuh, tleica ie ticcauhtiuh in altepetl, aqu itech ticcauhtiuh, ac tlamaceoaz.

Niman quimjlhui in Quetzalcoatl in tlatlacatecuio, ca çan njmã amo velitiz ca ça niaz:

njmã quilhujque in Quetzalcoatl in tlatlacatecuio canja tiaz

njmã quimilhuj in Quetzalcoatl ca vmpa in tlapallan njauh in njtlamattiuh,

auh njmã quihuiçi de taiz

njman quito in Quetzalcoatl, ca nicalnotzalo nechalnotza in tonatiuh,

njman quilhuique ca ie qualli xicauhtiuh in ixquich in tultecaiotl,

njman jc vncan quicauh, in ixquich in tultecaiotl, in itocaitlapixcaiotl, in tlatecaiotl, in quauhxincaiotl, in tenoteoncaiotl, in tlacujlocaiotl, in amantecaiotl, moch quitepeoaltique, moch quitlacaltique, moch quicuicuilique:

auh in ie ixhcuj in Quetzalcoatl njmã ie ic conte-

1. Tzompahua, Tepanoayan of Orozco, *op. cit.*, pp. 282, 284. Tezozomoc (*op. cit.*, p. 38) states that Tzompahua was two leagues from Mexico City (Tlahuicohuac).

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were swallowed up. Therefore he named that place Concaspan which now is called Coaspan.[2]

And thereupon he moved on and came to reach another point, a place named Cochtocan. And there a demon then came forth to meet him.

He said to him: "Whither goest thou?"

Then [Quetzalcoatl] said: "It is there to Tlapallan that I go, to learn [my fate]."

Then the demon said to him: "It is well. Drink this, the wine which I have brought here."

Quetzalcoatl said: "Nay, it may not be that I drink, even though it might be but little that I taste."

Then once more the devil said to him: "Verily, it may not be that thou shalt not drink nor taste of it. For no one do I give leave, or permit, to depart whom I give no wine and [not] make drunk and besotted. So do [as I bid thee]; be of good cheer and drink it."

Quetzalcoatl then drank the wine with a drinking tube.

And when he had drunk, he quickly fell asleep in the road. He lay thundering as he slept, resounding a great distance as he snored.[3] And when he awoke, thereupon he looked to one side and the other. He looked at himself, and arranged his hair. Then he named the place Cochtocan.

peoa, in jcoaqui in atlan njman ie ic hatoco, ic vncan tlatocaioti, concaspan, in axcan mjtoa coaaspan:

auh njman ie ic ōmolinj onacito, cecnj itocaiocti cochtocan, auh in vncan njmam quicalnamjc, ce tlacateculotl

quilhui can tjiauh,

njmā qujto ca vmpa in tlapallan, in nitlamattiuh,

njman conilhuj in tlacateculotl, ca ie qualli, tla xoconj, y, yn vnctli in oniqualcujc

qujto in Quetzalcoatl ca njman amo velitiz in niquiz, in manell achito noconpalos,

njman oc ceppa quilhui in tlacateculotl, camono velitiz, in macamo tiquiz, in maca titlapaloa ca aiac njcnocavia aiac njcquixtia in macamo njcmaca yn vctli, in ujctlaoantia, in niquivintia, auh injn tlaoque tlacuele, tla xoconi,

in Quetzalcoatl njman ic conjc, in vctli piaztica.

auh in oconjc cochvetz in o^ica, quaqualacatoc in cochi, veca caquitti, injc hicoa...ca, auh in oaliçac, njman ie ic avic tlachia, mohotta, moquapepetla, niman jc vncan tlatocaioti cochtocan.

2. Torquemada (op. cit., pp. 98f.) repeats a legend that after having Coaxapan, Quetzalcoatl went to Cholula, where he remained twenty years.

3. See Pl. 14.

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Fourteenth Chapter, which telleth how the vassals of Quetzalcoatl froze in the ice and died as they passed between Iztac tepetl and Popocatepetl; and of others of his exploits.

Then once again he set forth and came to climb between Popocatepetl and Iztac tepetl.[1] He led all the dwarfs and hunchbacks, his servants. It snowed upon them, and there they froze; they died of the cold.

And Quetzalcoatl thereupon was greatly moved and wept to himself. And he sang much to himself [as] he wept and sighed.

Thereupon he looked at a distance to another white mountain, named Poyauhtecatl.[2] Again he set forth, making the rounds of all places, everywhere passing through the villages. And so, they say, he set down many of his signs, by which he is known.

In another place it is said that he took his pleasure on a mountain. He came sliding down it, to its foot;[3] he came bouncing down it.

And elsewhere he planted in the ground *maguey* fibers.[4] At another place he built a ball court, all of stone. And in the middle of it, where the line was, the earth lay open, reaching deep; for it was thus pierced. And elsewhere he shot, as an arrow, a *bombax ceiba* tree, [shooting it] likewise into the midst of [another] *bombax ceiba* [so that one] rested piercing [the other]. And elsewhere he built a house all underground at a place named Mictlan.[5]

And elsewhere he set up a huge rock.[6] It is said that one might move it with his little finger; easily it swayed; from side to side it would teeter. And it is said that when many men pushed it, then it would not move, even though many would try hard. [If] they sought to move it, they could not budge it.

And there were many more things which he did in all the villages. And it is said that he named all

Injc matlactli ȝnnj capitvlo: itechpa tlatoa in quenjn cioapaoaque cetica micque in jmaceoaloan Quetzalcoatl, injc inepantla quiz in iztac tepetl, yoan in popocatepetl, yoan in oc cequi itlachioal.

Niman oc ceppa vmpeuh in otlecoto, popocatepetl itzalã, yoã iztatepetl, in ixquichtin quinvicaia, in tzapame, in tepotzome, yn jiachoan, muchintin inpan cepaiuh vncan cioapaoque, cecmjcque:

auh in Quetzalcoatl, njma ie ic mellaquaoa, mochoquilia, yoan mocujcatia cenca choca, helcicivi,

niman ie ic no conitta vecapa ĩ oc centetl iztac tepetl itoca poiauhtecatl, oc ceppa ic vmpeuh novian quiquiztia, novian quixaqualotinen yn altepetl, iuh q'toa mjec tlamantli in quitlalitia in inezca ynjc monecacioti.

In cecnj quilmach maxvilti tepetitech oalmocotlacalauh tlatzintlan oalvevetztia.

auh y cecnj quitlalitecana ichtli, y cecni quitecaz tlachtli çan moch tetl, auh in tlanepantla yn oncã icac tlecotl coiontícac veca aciticac ynjc coionquj, yoan cecnj quimjn pochotl inic quimjn çan no ie in pochotl hitic nalquizticac, auh cecni quiquetz calli çan tlallan, itocaiocan mjctlan,

auh oc no cecni quitlali centetl vejtepol tetl, quil yn aca colinia yca imapil xococoton, vel molinia hauic onquiquiça: auh quil in iquac miequjotin colinja, çan njman avel olinj, in manel cenca quimjeccavia colinixnequj, avel colinia.

auh oc mjec tlamantli in quichiuh in novian ipan

1. Iztac tlaxcal.
2. Mt. Orizaba.
3. *Oalmocotlacalauh*: a various version is suggested in Siler, (*op. cit.*, p. 291, n. 1)—"*oal-mo-cotlacal-lauh*? *quar. falsch gebraucht*?"
4. Cf. *loc. cit.* (n. 2), which differs somewhat from the *Florentine Codex* text: "*auh yiuui quitlali inezca ichtli in oncã pãpaxoltzinco in ahuiaztzinco: auh zacatlapechtopal hapi in ciuui (ihtic) hualtzi zenca hueiapilcqui in ixi ihpetzpetzco. Niman yuui ihuan ihcac in Lauui 'quauhcacal' in ilhuia, i.*"
5. Possibly Mitla.
6. Corresponding passage in Siler (*op. cit.*) translates *vejtepol tetl* as pluralities each. Cf. in Molina (*op. cit.*), *vejtetl* (*tetzontlo de cuenta*).

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the mountains. And in all places he gave all the names here.

And when he had done these things, then he went to reach the sea coast. Thereupon he fashioned a raft of serpents. When he had arranged [the raft], there he placed himself, as if it were his boat. Then he set off going across the sea. No one knows how he came to arrive there at Tlapallan.[1]

altepetl: yoan quilnoch nuch quiyotocaiotl in tetepe. yoan noviã novian tlatotocaiotitia yn njcan

auh in ie iuhquj yn oacito ſtẽco, njman ie ic quichioa coatlapechtli, yn oquicencauhque vncan motlali, iuhquinma yiacal ipan pouh, njman ie ic iatiuh ſtocotiuh nocac ontlamati in quenjn acito in vmpa tlapallan.

Here Endeth
the Third Book

Nicam tlantica
injc Ey omotli

1. There is great variation in legends and interpretations of the disappearance of Quetzalcoatl. In the *Anales de Quauhtitlan* (Lehmann, op. cit., pp. 78, 99-92), he went to the east to the reed bound himself, his heart revived, came to the heavens, and became the morning star. He and the star vanished for four days, while Quetzalcoatl was in the underworld; other eight days, the star reappeared. The version in Tezozomoctli (op. cit., p. 77) has Tezcatlipoca treat Quetzalcoatl from Chalchiu to Tlapan, or Tlillapan, where Quetzalcoatl died; his body was burned, and he became a star or comet. Durán (op. cit., pp. 77-8) relates that, on reaching the sea coast, Quetzalcoatl, at a single word, rent a mountain and crossed it; next a rope over the sea, made a ship with his hand, and sailed off; dried the sea with a blow of his staff and smoothed through with his people—the sea then engulfing the pursuers. In "La leyenda de los soles" (Códice Chimalpopoca), Quetzalcoatl (Ce acatl) is said to have undertaken a series of conquests (Ayotlan, Chalma, Culuacan, Quauhtitlan, Tlapallan, Atzlan), and to have disbanded, died, and been burned or hidden at Tlapallan. (The passage cited is incomplete because of a lacuna in the original text.)

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—*After Paso y Troncoso*

1. Birth of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter I)
2. Defeat of the Centzonuitznaua (Chapter I)
3. Uitzilopochtli worshiped (Chapter I)
4. Ceremonial sprinkling of impersonator of Uitzilopochtli (Chapter I)
5. Washing after the year's service to the god (Chapter I)
6. Feasting after the year's service to the god (Chapter I)

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—After Paso y Troncoso

7. Praying to Tezcatlipoca (Chapter II)
8. Fir branches on a rawhide shrine (Chapter II)
9. Quetzalcoatl performing a penance (Chapter III)
10. Quetzalcoatl bathing at midnight (Chapter III)
11. The old man offering the potion to Quetzalcoatl (Chapter IV)
12. Dragging the body of the sorcerer (Chapter IX).

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—After Paso y Troncoso

13. Roasting maize extracting the Tuhucs (Chapter XI)
14. Quetzalcoatl in a drunken sleep (Chapter XIII)
15. Preparation of corpse (Appendix, Chapter I)
16. Burning of corpse (Appendix, Chapter I)
17. Conference with mourners of the youths, upon birth of a child (Appendix, Chapter IV)
18. Taking children to the young men's house (Appendix, Chapter V)
19. Tending fires in the song house (Appendix, Chapter V)

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APPENDIX

Comiença el apẽ
dix, del libro tercero

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HERE BEGINNETH THE ADDITION TO THE THIRD BOOK, CALLED THE APPENDIX, WHICH TELLETH OF THE SOULS OF THOSE WHO DIED AND OF STILL OTHER SERVICES [RENDERED] THE RULERS.[1]

NICAN VMPEOA IN JANCA, INJC EY AMOXTLI IN ICOTŌCA APENDIZ IN ITECH TLATOA IN JMANJMAOĀ IN OMJCQUE. YOAN OC CEQUJ IN ITLAECOLTILOCA, IN TLACATECUTL.

775 **First Chapter**, which telleth of the souls of those who died, who went there to the land of the dead; and of how they were buried.

[This is] what the natives knew: the old ones and the chiefs. For all who died went to [one or another of] three places when they died.[2]

The first place was there to the land of the dead[3] where dwelt, and was, Mictlan tecutli or Tzontemoc, and Mictecacihuatl, consort of Mictlan tecutli.

And there, to the land of the dead, went [the souls of] all of those who died here on earth, who died only of sickness—the chiefs, the vassals.

764 And when one died—man, or woman, or child—they thus prayed to him who had died, who had met his end. They spoke to him when still he lay couched and stretched out:

"My son, thou hast known sorrow; thou hast suffered. Our lord hath been good to thee. For in truth here on earth the abode of all of us is not always to be, but it is only for a little time, only a moment, as we warm ourselves [in the sun]. Only through the grace of our lord do we come to know ourselves.

[761]

764 "And now, verily, Mictlan tecutli receiveth thee there—Acolmanacatl, Tzontemoc; and Mictecacihuatl. For he hath placed thee in this place; he hath provided thee a seat. Lo, there is the abode of all of us; there is the place where we all come to our fate—there where the earth groweth wide, where forever [all things] end.

775 "For thou hast removed to the abode of the dead, to the place of descent, to the end of journeys, and to the place of no outlets and no openings."[4] For

Injc ce capítulo: itechpa tlatoa yn inmanjman in miquja in vmpa via mjctlan, yoan in quenja tocoia.

In juh quimatia in nican tlaca in veuetque; yoan in tlatoque ca in jxquichein miquja. Excan in vi, yn iquac miqui.

Injc ceccan vmpa in mjctlan, auh in vncan mjctlan, vncan onoc, vncan ca mictlan tecutli, anoço Tzontemoc, yoan in Mictecacihuatl, yn iciouh mjctlā tecutli.

auh in vmpa vi, mjctlā ichoantin, in jxquichein tlalmiqui, in çan coculiztli ic miqui in tlatoque, in maceualti.

auh in iquac miquia in oquichtli, anoço cihuatl, anoço pilŏtli. auh injc quitlatlauhtiaia in miquja, in momiquiliaia, quilhujaia, in çan oc vezitic, in çan oc achitic.

Nopiltzc oyhjual ticmomachiti, oticmociauilti, omixtmocnelili in totecujo, canel amo njcan tocencīuan in tlalticpac, ca çan achitzin ca, ca çan cuel achic, ca çan titoconio ca, çan ipalnemoa tiximatico in totecujo.

. auh in nocan ca omixtalmanili in mjctlan tecutli, in Acolmanacatl in Tzotemoc, yoan in Mjctecacihuatl, ca omixtalmotemaoti, ca omixtalmocpalti, canel vmpa tocenchan, vmpa tocenpopolivjan, vmpa tlalpetlaca, ca ococn onquiz,

ca ommoviciac in quenamjcac, ximoonian in vilooian, in apechcpujacoioca, in atecalocan, ca ocmo ceppa miloch monecuepal tiechiout, ca ocmo tiualla-

1. Tlacatecutl, in the Aztec editions, is probably to be read diacritically.
2. Not mentioned in the Appendix to Book III is the concept of a special place for women who died in childbirth. See Book IV.
3. Although Sahagún inevitably translates *mictlan* as *infierno*, the literal meaning is land or place of the dead.
4a. The terms *apechcpujacoioca* and *atlecalocan* might literally be rendered "place without a smoke hole" and "place without a chimney." For elaboration see Book and Appendix.

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764 no more mayest thou make thy return, thy way back.
Yea, no more mayest thou bethink thyself of what
[774] thou hast left behind thee. For much time thou
hast been bereft and orphaned thy children and grand-
children. Yea, no more mayest thou bethink thyself
how they may end. We go to join with and rejoice
with thee after many days."

And behold how they addressed the kin of the dead:

761 "My son, take to thyself and exert all thy force;
apply thyself that thou take maize gruel and [thy]
764 hail-tortilla." Take courage. Of what avail is what
we say? Is it that [our lord] feeleth ill will toward
us?—that he mocketh us? Verily, [it is that] our
lord hath willed and commanded that he hath
already fulfilled his office and reached his end here.
What? Couldst thou in truth yet bring it about that
he might borrow a little, a day, [here] on earth?

"And although thy heart and body feel affliction
and pain, although it is dark there where he lieth
alone and swaineth the commandment of our lord,
be of good cheer, and henceforth be sure of thy
orphanhood.

764 "What canst thou do, that thou art bereft? My son,
use all thy strength; let not thy head hang, like one
in grief. For now we have come to strengthen thy
heart and thy body by a little. For here is the purpose
and office of motherhood, of fatherhood. For our
lord hath destroyed [the household]; for thy mothers
and fathers have gone, they who well watered and
nourished their constellations and lamentations. And
this is enough. Thus [we who are as] thy mothers
and fathers have conversed thee. Go in peace."

Then the old men whose office it was prepared the
paper vestments. They shredded, cut up, and bound
the paper. And when they had prepared the paper
adornments, thereupon they arrayed the dead one;
they flexed [his limbs]; they poured water upon his
head.

They said to him: "Behold that which thou hast
enjoyed, that by which thou hast lived on earth."

And then they poured a little water into a bowl,
and offered it [to him], and said to him:

"Behold wherewith thou shalt travel."

Then they put [the bowl] in with him, and there-
upon they bound him well; they bound firmly upon
him [the wrappings for the dead]; they wrapped
them round and round him and tied them firmly

maxiz in monica monoporco, in macuji in matlac,
ca oniquinenjnocuahuetoc, oniquinenelacacuahue-
toc, in nopilhuan, in mouiuian, ca ocmo tlcuallamatia
7 çaço quen popolivinque, ca motech tenochivi,
motech tupachivivi, in macuji in matlac.

Auh inconpuj ic quiçtlaliuhtiuia in mjcoaca.

Nopiltzc nu inquich xicmatli, nu inquich motlal-
pal xicmochivili, nu xinochicaca, nu ticcauh yn
molol, in tlapiqui, nu xinelaquaca, quenmel tiqui-
tauj, cuja çan aca ic techcaculia, cuja çan aca ic
techpaulia, ca aquinonequiliz aquinojuliuj in tono-
cuja, ca ic vncan ca inquijuh, ca ic vncã ca inconpu-
çaia, quen xicnochiua in nu oc achitzin ca in nu oc
cemilhuitzintli conmotlaneviauj in tlaltiqpac.

Auh yuja tlacnelehuol onnonoa, onchichinaca in
moiollotzin in nonacaxtzin, : tzuelehuol ontlai-
catica in vncan onelacuahuac, in vncan ocontlaxi-
chiuia in tonecuja, tlacuele centlamjc xiconmomachiti
in jcnopiltol,

quenmel timotlanija, nopiltzc nu inquich motlapal,
xicmochivili, nu xocuelc inhuqujn tlacculi tocuxtolo,
ca çan nican achitzin, ic techcaxelcuiltzc in moiollo-
tzin, in nonacaxtzin, ca nican popoui intlvi, in
xamiuel, in taiol, ca otlnonmiquilitzinli in tonecuja, ca
oinque in nonanoa in nittaca, in vel quinnonaia in
vel quipoaia in choquiniz, in ixiiiiuiztzinli. auh ca ic
inquijch, injc tximomatlaxelcuiltiz yn nonoua, in na-
tuan de tlcmatcaxcinli.

Niman quiçatlachichivilloia yn amatlamapc, in
vevetque in machiotque catca: yn amatl quimotzoloa,
quimotzquja quihiquioia. auh in aquinconcuhque in
amatlamapçtl, nipan ic ic quichichioa in mjcoapil, qui-
nocuetzotlalia, icpac tzonoca ol,

quiliuja. Inçuepj yn otlcmotlaneuhtico ino ic
tlaneca tlaltiqpac.

auh njman achi conmoua ocuxca in ol, conmoca
quiliuja.

Yacatepj injc nenoltiaoca,

nipan itic conaquja nipan ic ic quipiqujnoloa,
quinenehuiquinoloa, quinenehuiquja, quicacatilquja in
mjcoapil nipan ic quinonoca, in tenenehuiquj, auh in

[1] Cf. Seler, op. cit., p. 295. This is the small child's ration as given in Codex Matritense.

about the dead one. Then they laid out his paper adornment in order. And when they had arranged it in order, then they gave it all to him. They placed it as an offering before him and said to him:

"Behold wherewith thou shalt pass there where the mountains come together.

"And behold how with this thou shalt pass the road which the serpent watcheth.

"And behold wherewith thou shalt pass the green lizard, the *xochiocuel*.

"And behold wherewith thou shalt cross the eight deserts.

"And behold wherewith thou shalt go over the eight hills.

"Behold wherewith thou shalt travel the place of the obsidian-bladed winds."

For there, in that place, the place of the obsidian-bladed winds, it was said that all suffered much. By winds were all the obsidian blades, and stones, borne. And hence, when valiant men died, [their kin] burned all of their baskets with insignia, their shields, their obsidian-bladed swords, and all the things [which they had wrested from] their captives; and all their capes, and all their clothing of whatever sort.

Likewise, [if it were] a woman, all her baskets, her waist bands, her divided cords for holding up the tresses, her skirts, her shuttles, her battens, her cane stalks, her combs—also all [this] burned with her.

It was said that they would encircle themselves [with these things] and thus be protected in the place of the obsidian-bladed winds, and not suffer greatly. And he who had nothing among his wrecked belongings, who went here, underwent much pain and suffered much in order to pass the place of the obsidian-bladed winds.

And also they caused him to carry a little dog, a yellow one; they fixed about its neck a loose cotton cord. It was said that [the dog] bore [the dead one] across the place of the nine caves in the land of the dead.

And when Mictlan tecutli was reached, he offered up all with which they had adorned the dead once on earth—the ceremonial papers,[6] the pine incense burners, and bundles of canes [for perfume], loose cotton thread, and red cotton thread, or his cape

ocuetlamamaciquec, ynnon ic conmaca cenhamatli ixpan cōmana quilhoja. 764

Yxcuepj inic tzopqiçan in vncan tepetl iooaxmiquiya. 764

auh iccuepj ic ida tzopqiçan in vtli quipia yn 775
cuetl.

auh iccuepj ipa itlan tzopqiçan, in xoxouhqui cuetzpalin in xochiocuel.

auh iccuepj ynic tomomoca chicuey itlaoual.

auh iccuepj ic tzopqiçan in chicue tlaltecan.

Yxcuepj ic tzopqiçan in itzcheccaian.

auh in vncan y, yzcheccaian, quil cenca netolinilo, mochi hecatoco in itzcli, yoan in xalxeli, auh ipampa in miquia in oquichtin in jotlavizpetlacal yn jochimal, yn jiamaquauh, yoā in ixquichcin ymaloxoan, yoā in ixquich in itilma, yoan in jiquich in tlein itlatlaqui, mochipan quitlalia;

ça ic no ivi in cihoal in ixquich in itaca, in ineznaia, yn imecamaxal, yn iquentil, yn ixtimah in itzcuepa, in ivtlauh, yn itzcacuah yxtiquexo, no mochi ipā tlatla,

quilmach quimotemiltia, ic mohecatzacuilia yn itzhecatl, amo cenca mocolinia. auh yn aq'n ale itlaqui-tzin ipan inh iauh, cihca tlahiiovia cenca mocolinia, inic quiça itzhecaian.

Auh yoā cenca chichimo quivicaltia ich in cuci, cococuecuia pomoqui icpal, quilmach quipeuvia chicuacempan in mjctlan.

auh in ipan oomoa in jnoh mjctlan tecutli, quitlamacaca l tlahiepac in tlein quiochichivilia mimiquc in cvitlal, ocotlamacatli, yoan quiqujxiloia xoxouicl, yoan pomoqui, yoan chichilicpatl, ayo yiliua, amapo yoaatli. auh in cihoal icxe, ivipil. yoa

6. Bullock assuming in parchmentized. In Sahagún's *Bibliographical Appendix* (p. 1957, n. 3) this is rendered "papel—Kalmomantle, papel blanco amarillento—Amate blanco Amatlanco."

764 775 or his breech clout. And a woman, her shirt [or] her shift, and indeed all her clothing she had left they bound together.

And when eighty days [had passed], then they burned [these]. Likewise was this done after a year, and after two years, and after three years. And when four years had passed, [then was] the last time that they did [this].[5]

And all this, it was said, came to Mictlan tecutli. And when the four years had ended, thereupon [the dead one] went to the nine lands of the dead,[6] [where] lay a broad river.

There the dogs carried one across. It was said that whosoever came walking [to the bank] looked over to the dogs. And when one recognized his master, thereupon he came to throw himself into the water in order to carry his master across. Hence the natives took pains to keep the dogs.

And it was said that the white dogs and the black ones, those which were black, could not carry one over the river to the land of the dead. It was said that the white dog said: "I have just washed myself." And one which was black said: "I have just stained myself black." Only a yellow [one][7] could bear one across.

And there at the nine lands of the dead, the [dead] were completely destroyed.

764 And when it came to pass that [the old men] had ornamented [the dead one], then they took him to the fire. And first they drew the little dog; thereupon they burned [the dead one and the dog].

Two old women took great care of [the dead one]. And some of the women stayed singing. And when the body of [the dead one] already was burning, they took great pains with it, they kept packing it down. And the body crackled and popped, and smelled foul. And when it came to pass that they had burned it, thereupon they gathered and heaped up the coals. And they said: "Let him be bathed"; and thereupon they bathed him—they cast water upon him; they sprinkled and poured the water on him. When [the coals] grew cold, once more they gathered up the charred remains, and thereupon dug a round hole in which to place it—a pit, and this they called a cave.

in ic nnuchi itlatlaqui, in oquicnahuac nnuchi quiquimilloa,

in iquac nappoalitica iquac tlatla, no ioh nnuchiuia ya iquac cexiuhtica. yoan in iquac ome[i]tica, yoan in iquac ieiuhtica: auh in iquac nauhxiuhtica ça cen in conchiua.

auh inijo quilnauh nnuch itech onaci, in Mictlan tecutli: auh in otzonquiz nauhxiuiti, njmoan ic ic iuuh in chicunahuiptlan, ieac ui patlaoac,

ic vncan in tepanavia chichiuac, quil in aquja oquiçaco ivic calachia in chichi. auh in oquiolitzino ya itecujo njmoan ic ic calnocemiavi in atlan inje quitanavia in itecujo, ipampa in njcan tlaca cenca quinecmjtinia in chichime.

auh quil in ieuc chichi. yuh in tlilti, in tlilca quil axel tepanavia ya mjctlan, quil quiteo in ilhuc ca quin onenenelaquiuh. auh in tlilca quiteo ca quin onennoçac, çan ye yio in coci vel tepanavia.

auh in vncan chicunamjctlan 9ti ocempopilloca.

764 Auh in ic inhqui ya oquicnacnahuac, njmd ic quivica in tlen, yoan in chchiuh achto cenmjctia, njmoan ic ic tlatla,

cenca quinnecuitlavia in tlalhuaque vncuxio, auh in cuquijxtin tlalhuaque cujcatoque: auh in iquac ic tlatla inacaio cenca quinnecuitlavia quinixilitiuia, auh in tonacaio, tomoioca, cuecuepoca, yoan tzoiuia: auh in ic Tlhuqui in ocontlacique, njmd ic ic collolollo, quinquenhuitlolo in tlexochili. Yoan quijxca mo cenmihi, njmoan ic ic cuhin canaquja cuepachoa, cuepatzoca, in occuxili, ic no cappa collolollo in xexilli, njmoan ic ic tlaxaca inmihic in quixhollo, tlaxaxilli,

5. Cf. also Sahagún, *Collected Works*, II, Pt. 3, pp. 1192. Elsewhere gives the priests of the underworld were a false necromancy bundle of cadaverous wood, clothing, and a mask. Similar rites were performed for slaves who died for their lords, or had been taken captive and sacrificed. After each rite of many fell in an expedition, the ruler prepared a public feast, in which slaves were singing and dancing in honor of the dead, and the burning of a necromancy bundle, gifts, and belongings of the dead. The feast lasted four days.

6. The nine lands or regions of the dead were thought of as arranged in tiers, or layers, the ninth being the deepest. See Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, IV, pp. 178. The heavens likewise were in tiers.

7. Red, according to Seler (*Collected Works*, II, Pt. 3, pp. 1192). See, however, *Mitteil. Museum*, p. 330 (yellow).

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Thereupon they swiftly filled the pit with the charred remains. There they covered it with earth.

And [this was done with] the noblemen as well as peasants.

When they had burned, they gathered and heaped up the bones, filling a small jar or small bowl [with them]. Upon the bones they laid a green stone. They buried [the bowl] in the house or the tribal temple [of the dead one].[8]

And where they buried [the ashes], they always laid offerings for them.

And when the chiefs and princes died, they laid in their mouths green stones.[9] And those who were only peasants [they provided] only a [common] greenish stone or [a piece of] obsidian. It was said that these became their hearts.

And the chiefs with many things they thus bedizened: their paper adornment which they made [was a] princely paper streamer of either four fathoms' or three fathoms' [length] of papers which they glued one to another. And upon it they hung various feathers—[those of] the heron and the trupial; dark yellow parrot breast feathers; the red arara; quetzal breast feathers; hawk feathers,[10] and yet other feathers.

And some were made [their] companions—the beloved slaves, perchance a score of the men and as many of the women. Then they said that they were those who cared for their master, and still made chocolate and prepared food for him. And the men they sent as servants, likewise to care for him in the land of the dead.

And when the chief already burned, thereupon they slew the slaves, driving only bird arrows through their throats. They did not burn [with] the chief. Quite separately they buried the slaves, and quite alone the chief burned.[11]

ynjn qujtocaiotía ozotl njman ie ic contentiquetza in teculli, tlatlactli vncí contoca.

auh yoan in pipilti, yoan in macoxoltin,

764

yn iquac otlatlaque, quipepena quiccnquiztia in jnnemio, contóco, xoconco quicentiquetza, in omitl ipan coatlalia chalchivitl, quitoca ichan icalpolco.

auh in vncan qujntoca muchiqa qujntlamanilia.

Yoan in iqꝯ i miquia in tlatoque, yoan in pipilti qujntololtiaia chalchivitl. auh in çan macoxolti, çan tezoxoctli, anoço itztli, quilmacia iniollo muchioa.

764 766

auh in tlatoque nujec tlamantli, injc qujnchichioa, yn amatlaquitl quichioaia tecpantil anoço nâmotl, anoço iêtnatl, amatl quiçaçaloa. yoan itech quipipiloa, in nepapan ihujtl, azatl çaquan, zolloti, cueçali, tziuhtli, cuixihujtl, yoan oc cequi ihujtl.

766

auh cequintin tevicalti muchioa in tlatlacotzitzintin, aço cen tecpantli yn oquichtli, no ixqui i cihoatl auh quitoaia in quenjn oqujmocuitlavique in jntecujo, yn oc achiviliaia, yn oqu itlaqual chiviliaia, auh in oquichti qujntiitlani, çan no ieh quimocuitlavizque in mjctlan:

auh in iquac ie tlatla tlatoanj, njman ie ic qujmomjctia in tlatlacoti, çan totomjtl in quechtlâ conaquia, amo yoan tlatla in tlatoanj, çan nonqua qujntoca in tlatlacoti, çan vel yioca tlatla in tlatoanj.

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "en una cantara de su casa."

9. See Pl. 35, footnote/note: more literally, "made them swallow."

10. Kubler cf. Sahagún (Dobrizhoffer ed.), III, p. 165. See also Tobar, Rituje Kapiteł, p. 299, n. 1: "Verosimilech corrobórales cantar 'ché' [= water drum]." Trupial and cuxtihuitl are identified in the same place in the text.

11. Yampareztle (op. cit., pp. 321 ff.) does describe the funeral ceremonies for a chief: Neighboring towns were notified of the death, and the ceremonies were scheduled usually for four or five days later. Chiefs of nearby towns brought gifts (cacaoa, feathers, slaves). The body of the deceased was wrapped in wooden and adorned with gold, silver, and jewels. A green stone was laid in the mouth, or heart. Hair was cut from the crown of the head of the deceased and kept in a wooden box with a painting of the god (unnamed); a slave was killed in honor of the god. On the mourning hearths were placed the ornaments of the god. A solemn procession, including neighboring chiefs, relatives, friends, wives of the deceased, and dancing priests marched (without bearing of drums) to meet other priests at the temple. At the foot of the pyramid, they ignited the pyre of wood and some incense. As the body burned, as many as one or two hundred slaves were sacrificed in the usual manner, and burned in another pyre. These were household slaves (including dwarfs, jesters, and the like) and others presented by visiting dignitaries. Next day, the ashes were gathered, along with the remaining hair previously cut. Friends, relatives, and wives had offerings before the box. There were four days of such ceremonies, after which fifteen or twenty more slaves were sacrificed, since, it was thought, the soul of the deceased had undertaken its travels and was in need of aid. Other slaves—up to a dozen or so—were later killed at the end of twenty, forty, sixty, and eighty days. Yearly thereafter, for four years, quail, rabbits, birds, and butterflies were offered before the box, along with incense, food, cotton, flowers, and canes of tobacco. These ceremonies were accompanied by feasting, drinking, and dancing.

[p. 44 is blank]

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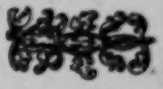

[Second Chapter][1]

775 The second place [where] they went [was] there to Tlalocan. And in Tlalocan all prospered greatly; all enjoyed much wealth. Never did one suffer. Never was there lack of ears of green maize, [nor] squash, squash blossoms, heads of amaranth,[2] green *chilis*, tomatoes, green beans, [nor] the Tagetes flower.

Injc vecan vilos vmpa in tlalocan. auh in tlalocan cenca netlamachtilo, cenca neculiuonolo, aic mihjiovia, aic polivi in elotl, in aiotetl, yn aiouochquilitl, in ouuhtzontli, in chilchotl, i xitomatl, yn ezotl, in cempoalxochitl:

And there dwelt the Tlaloca, who were like priests, the long haired ones;[3] who were like the fire priests.

auh vmpa nemj in tlaloque, iui..que in tlamacazque, papaquaque, iuhque in tlenamacaque catca:

766 And there went those who had been struck by thunderbolts, and those who had been submerged in the water, and those who had died in the water. And those who were leprous, or affected by venereal sickness, or by boils, or by the itch, or by sores, or by the gout; and those full of tumors, [those] they took [there], and those swollen by the dropsy,[4] [who] thus died.

auh in vmpa vi ichoantin in viteco, yoā in ilaquilo, yoan in atlan miqui, yoan ichoantin in tococotzque, yoan in nanaoti, yoan in xochicivi, yoan in xiriioti, yoan in papalaqi, yoan in coacivi, yoan in poçoçaoaliztli quinvica, in teponaoacivi ic miquj,

These, when they died, they did not burn, but only buried. They applied liquid rubber to their faces; and with fish amaranth [paste] they covered their cheeks; and they colored their foreheads blue [with blue papers]. And they gave them [each] a paper lock of hair at the back of the head. Mountain images they placed before them. And they placed paper capes over them, and in their hands they placed for them large staves of wood.

in ichoān jn, yn iquac miqui, amo tlatla, can qujntocaia, quimizolviaia, yoan michiosuhtli, incamapan conpachoa, yoan quimjxquatezoviaia, yoan quimahamacuexpaltiaia, tepeiotl, in qujntlaliliaia yn imixquac: auh amatl in qujnquequentiaia, yoan inmac qujntequiliaia ozopil quavitl:

775 And so they said that in Tlalocan all is ever green, always in growth, always spring; it is always spring time.

iuh qujoa in tlalocan, muchipa tlaccia, muchipa tlaxmolini, muchipa xopantla tlaxopimamanj.

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1. Chapter heading is omitted in the Nahuatl version.
2. Quelzalmeztli. Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 388) has cuauhtzontli (Boturini). The corresponding Spanish text has cauesos de Abdes.
3. Sahagún version (Bancroft ed., II, p. 321): "Cuando morria el señor o rey, para elegir otro pontifices los mesmos que llamaban tzoalcuas, y tambien los elegia del pueblo que llamavan tlamacazque; y tambien los capitanes, caballeros viejos de la guerra, que llamaban yaomiquizque, y otros capitanes que eran principales en las cosas de la guerra, y tambien los ebreges que llamaban tlenamacazque o papaquaque."
4. Identification of diseases is problematical. Seler (loc. cit.) has sickness of the genitals for *aiotetl*, skin disease for *papalaqui*, inflamed sores which did not heal for *coacivi*, swelling of the body for *papaquiltilli*, and inflammed disease for *xopantzazalli*.

[p. 46 is blank]

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Third Chapter, in which are recorded those who went to heaven.

Jnic ey capítulo, vncá motenecoa in aquiquc via ilhujcac.

The third place to which they went was there to the home of the sun, in heaven. Those went there who died in war, either, verily, those who died then in battle, to be despoiled there on the battlefield, where they breathed their last, where fate overtook them, or else [those who] were brought home that later they might die [as sacrifices]. Perchance [one such] was slain in gladiatorial sacrifice, or cast into the fire, or shot with arrows, or slain with pointed canes, or fought with and slain, or covered with resinous wood [to which they laid fire]. All [these] went to the home of the sun.

Injc Excan villoa: vmpa in ichan tonatiuh ilhujcac, ichoantin vmpa vi, in iaomiquj, in anoço vel vncan njman miquj iaoc, in iapaniocan, in vncan quinnamoia, vncá ihiotl, quiça, vncan ii ..equjuh vetzi, yn anoço çan calaquilo, i çatepan miquitzque. Yn aço cuoano, aço tlepantlazo, aço tlaxichvilo, aço teoconvilo, anoço cacalioa, anoço ocopotonjlo, muchintin vi in tonatiuh ichan,

It was said that they dwelt where was only a place like a plain; when the sun burst forth and arose, then they shouted and cried out to it and struck their shields together. And he whose shield was pierced in perhaps two or three places could well look at the sun. And he whose shield nowhere was pierced could in no wise see the sun nor look into its face. And there, where dwelt those slain in war, [were] the *magueyes*, the thorny shrubs,[1] and clumps of mesquites. And all offerings which [the living] offered them—these they could receive; these could reach them.

quil çe çemanoque, in canin iuhcan ixtlaoacan, in iquac in oalmomana in oalquiçaia tonatiuh, nimá quicauatza, coiovia, muchimalhuitequj, auh in aqujn ichimal, in aço vncca, anoço iexcan tlamiztli vncá vel quitta in tonatiuh. auh in aqujn acan tlamintli ichimal, avel quitta in tonatiuh, avel ixco tlachia, auh yn vmpa onoc, in iaomjcque nequamell, tzivactli, mizquitla; auh in jxqujch yn venth in qujnmanilia, vel quitta vel itech aci.

And when four years had gone by, then they were changed into birds of precious feather—humming birds, flower birds,[2] yellow birds blackened about the eyes;[3] chalky butterflies, feather-down butterflies, large varicolored butterflies,[4] which sucked [honey

auh in iquac onauhxiuhtique, njmá ic mocuepa, tlaçotocone, huitzizilti, xochiototi, totocoztli, mixtetlilcomalo, tiçapapalotl, ivipapalotl, xicalteconpapalotl, tlachichina in vmpa in monoian. yoan in njcan

1. *Tezcatl*: according to Sahagún (*Collected Works*, II, Pt. 3-4, p. 56), it is probably a thorny plant found in the Chichimec highlands; he also likens to *tezcatl* "a cactus with cylindrical stem. "It is, therefore, the sentinel weapon in the hand of the god of the Otomí."

2. *Huitzitzilin*: Simeon (*op. cit.*) identifies it as a *zenzontli*—a bird of yellow throat, breast, and stomach. Sahagún (Bancroft ed., III, p. 184) calls it an "*ave como flor: tiene la garganta, y el pecho, y la barriga amarillos, como flor muy amarilla; tiene en la cara unas cosas: tiene la cabeza y espaldas y las alas y la cola, entreladas de negro y blanco: tiene los pies negros.*"

3. Cf. Sahagún: *Ritos Kapaid*, p. 302.

4. The butterflies are thus described in Sahagún, *loc. cit.*, and *Collected Works*, IV, p. 82. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, p. 214) mentions *xicalpapaloti*: "*unas muy grandes de diversos colores.*"

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from the flowers] there where they dwelt. And here upon earth they came to suck [honey] from all the varied flowers—the *erythrina coralloides*,[5] the *convolvulus principis*,[6] the *calliandra*.[7]

tlalticpac oallhui in quioalchichiúa, in jxquich nepapan xochitl in equimjtl, anoço tzompanquavitl xilohxochitl, tlacomilohxochitl.

5. Cf. Ixtlxl, *op. cit.*, II, Pt. 1-2, p. 53, Pt. 3-4, p. 174; and Hidgo Espinal, p. 302. He says *equimitl* is the leaf of the *tzompanquavitl*, the *erythrina coralloides* or *coralloidendron*. Apparently it was used magically; cf. Sahagún, Lib. IX, caps. iii-iv, and Ixtlxl's translations of the Nahuatl text in Sahagún (Bustamante ed., V, p. 234). Sahagún (Bustamante ed., III, p. 277) writes: "Hay también unos árboles que se plantan en los huertos que se llaman tzompanquahuitl; *en latín coralloon*, unos tienen aparados, unos la copa redonda y de buen parecer; tienen unas flores que se llaman equimixóchitl; son muy colorados y de buen parecer y no tienen olor ninguno; los hojas de este árbol se llaman equimitl."

6. Cf. Ixtlxl, Hidgo Espinal, *loc. cit.* In *Collected Works*, II, Pt. 3-4, pp. 133-5, he defines it as "palo de rosa" (name in Chiapas), "*cabello de ángel*" (*convolvulus colliandus*). The former is *convolvulus equestrium X. Linneo or convolvulus principis L. fil.* Ixtlxl believes *xilonochtl* is a name given two distinct flowers. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, III, 276) describes them as "*calabazas y a manera de judías floridas; llámanse en una hierba que se llama xilonochtli; no son olorosas, pero son muy hermosas.*" See also Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, II, app. xxviii.

7. Cf. Ixtlxl, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-5: This passage is related to one in the song classed every eight years when vassal tributes were eaten. Cf. Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), V, pp. 136, 140 *ff.*; Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book II, p. 212.

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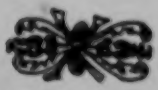

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Fourth Chapter, in which it is related how the common folk left their sons in the young men's house, and what customs existed there in the young men's house, so that all were trained and reared.[1]

When a boy was born, then they placed him in the priests' house or the young men's house. That is to say [the parents] promised [the child], gave him as a gift, and brought him as an offering to the temple of the priests' house in order that [the boy] become a priest, or a young [warrior].

If he entered the young men's house, [the parents] promised him to it; they prepared drink and food. They summoned, assembled, and addressed the leaders of the young men. They who had sons [then] prayed. They said:

"Our lord, savior and protector of all, hath been pleased to place you here. For here you know and are told that our lord hath given [us one like] a precious stone, a quetzal feather. For a child hath come down [to us. Perhaps] he will have that which he hath need of that he may mature. Already he [is like] a jewel. Shall we perchance lay in his hand a spindle and a weaving stick? [For] he is yours; he is your child, your son.

"It is by your grace that we place him [among] your beloved sons, that you may rear, and train, and make of him a brave man of war, raising him to serve our mother and our father, Tlalticutli and Tonatiuh.

"And now to him we dedicate [the boy]—to the shadow and the wind, the lord, the young [god], Yaotzin, Titlacauan, Tezcatlipoca.[2] Perchance our lord may sustain him a little.

"We leave him [with you that] he may become a young [warrior]; that he may dwell there in the house of penances, of weeping, of tears—the young

Inje nevj cxpiuitec vncā mjtoa, in quenjn mochcahiān, quimonecanaia in inpilhoan yn vmpa tēlpuchcalī, yoan in quenjn tlamanja vmpa telpuchcali in juh nencahlōnia nenepacalca.

In iquac otlacat pilcontli njmā cxquja yn calmecac, in anoço telpuchcali, quimonequj, quinetoltia, vmpa quivenchioa, quivemmana in teupan in calmecac inje tlamacazquj ica, yn anoço telpuchtli.

Intla telpuchcali cxquja, quinenoltia quicficaoa, in atl in thequalli, quinonexa quincentlalia, quintlatlauhtia in telpuchtlatoque, tlatlachaulotia in pilnaque. Quitoa,

Ca njcan amechcalmotlalilia in totecujo in tloque nanaque. A ca tijcan anquimocuilia anquimocaquitia, ca oquimomacavili in totecujo ce cuecuel quetzalli, a, omocavi piltzintli, avia nelle axcan motetzaoaltiaznequj, ie peioctzintli, cujx malacat tzotzopantli, ynnac tictequilinque, ca amaxcatzin, ca amocoxtzin, ca amopiltzin,

amocacauhtzico, amomamaltzinco tocuxtlalia ca amopilhoantzinzin, ca titlacacaltia, ca axtlacaoapaoa, ca anquauhchioa, amoccochioa, anquitlacaoapavilia, in tonan in tota in tlalticutli tonatiuh.

auh in axcan ca ivic tiquijtoa in iowalli in chocaiī in tlacatl in telpuchtli in ioxtzin in titlacauan in Tezcatlipoca, aço achitzin quimotocatilia in ichoatzin totecujo,

tlocaoa telpuchtzin, vmpa nemiz in tlamacazcalicali, yn chocaiocali, yn jiuiocali, in telpuchcali, in vncā

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1. Francisco Javier Clavijero, in *Historia antigua de México* (Mexico: Editorial Porrua, S. A., 1945), II, pp. 198f., says they were taken to the *telpuchcalli* (as well as the *calmecac*) at the age of fifteen. He cites *Codex Mendoza*, Plates 53 ff. All were for three years of instruction (religion, good usages, good behavior). All also attended, he says, *cuicacalco*—*calli* (singing going to one type, entertainers to another. Boys trained children, were youths, and were girls. The sexes were segregated. Men remained until the age of twenty or twenty-two, women until seventeen or eighteen. Attaining his majority, by his request or by arrangements made by his parents, a youth left this training to marry. Men usually followed their fathers' occupations.

The *telpuchcalli*, according to Orozco (*op. cit.*, p. 59) prepared the young men for war. Discipline was less severe than in the *calmecac* and education less intensive. Torquemada (*op. cit.*, pp. 259-61) indicates a similar manner of living.

Clavijero (*loc. cit.*) and Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 97) agree that girls were raised in seclusion and had no contact with boys or men. They slept and they were cut only under the supervision of old women. They were taught how to address their elders with respect. Specifically, Clavijero mentions temple duties (sweeping, offering of incense three times during the night, preparing food for the idols); weaving and other womanly arts; and general preparation for marriage. Torquemada enumerates some of the punishments for misbehavior.

2. Yaotzin was the patron of the *telpuchcalli* and the education of warriors (Cruz, *op. cit.*, p. 57). Cf. also Torquemada, *op. cit.*, pp. 259-61.

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men's house, where live and are formed the brave men of war; where they pour forth prayers and praises for our lord.[4]

"And there he instructeth them and giveth them gifts; there he showeth them his compassion. The [reward of] the soldier, the warrior,[5] he giveth those who weep and suffer. From there our lord causeth them to come forth. They guard and protect [those who] rule[6] [us, there] in the house of learning of him our lord.

"And perchance for us who weep and are in anguish, perchance, if it be our reward and our lot, he may [grow in] perception and ripen. Perchance this may not be—O unhappy we, unfortunate old men and women.

"Or you may indeed receive and take him; let him follow; let him learn where the sons of others wax strong and grow—those orphans of luckless leaders in war."

And behold how [the others] answered and replied. They said:

"Lo, put your hearts at rest, for here we have heard [on behalf of] our lord, the master, the young [god], the shadow and wind, Yaotzin. For it is to him that you pray and to whom you call; it is to him that you offer your jewel, your quetzal feather, the flesh of your flesh. For it is our office only to take and accept what you offer our lord. We have only listened [for him].

"What may our lord wish and require of your jewel, your quetzal feather? Truly, we who are afflicted, who are vassals, we speak in darkness. Our lord, savior and protector of all, Piltzintli, knoweth in what wise [your son] hath been bedight and instructed in the place of darkness [before all time] —what he was girt with and what he brought forth when he was born; and what his day sign is; and finally on [what day sign] he hath been bathed [in baptism]; and what the lot and reward of the child [will be].

"Verily is it said that we, his servants, may only imagine [these things. But] not out of nothing do they later come to pass on earth. For we come bring-

ioli tlacati in quauhtin in occlo in vncan intillan, intoxcatli mãmaiaoan in totecujo.

auh yn vncan motetzinmachilia in vncan motetlamamaquilia, in vncan moteicnoittilia in quappetlatl, in occlopetlatl quimmomaquilia in chocani, in tlaocoiani, in vncã quimoquixtilia in ichoutzin to.[7] in petlatl, yn icpalli quipachoa in quipia, in itlaitzimachoan ichoatzin totecujo.

auh inin cujx tichocanj, cujx titlaocoianj, cujx itla tulvil, tomaceual, cujx tlachiaz, muzcaliz? acaçomo, omuchiuh ototlavelitic in ticmovevetque, in ticnoilamatque,

manoço nelli xjcmoccilica, manoço xiqualmanilica, ma quimontoca ma quimonmati yn izcaltilo, in capacalo, in tepilhoan, auh ic ichoantin in jcnotepilhoan, in jcnoquaulstin yn jcnoocelo.

Auh izcatquj injc quicuepaia tlatolli, injc tlananquiliaia quitoaia.

O tla cauhquj in amoiollotzin, a ca nican tictotlacaqvililia in totecujo, in tlacatl in telpuchtli in ioulli in checatl in iavtzin, a, ca ichoatzin in anquimotlatlauhtilia, in anquimonochilia ca ichoutl yn anquimomaquilia in amoconquj in amoquetzal, in amotlatlacatilil, ca çan tequjtl ticcuj, ticcana yn anquimomaquilia in totecujo, ca çan tictotlacaquililia,

quen ic quimonequilitica. auh quen quimonequilitica in ichoatzin totecujo, in amoconquj, in amoquetzal, ha nelli mach in tinemlamati in timacchoalti, hatlaiocoian in titlatoa, quen ic quimomachilitica in totecujo, in tloque nacaque, in piltzintli, quẽ chichioaloc, quen naoatiloc, in iooian, tle ic apanaloc, tleh quioalitquitia, yn iquac motlacatili: auh tle itonal, auh iequene tle ypan malti tle yn imaceual in piltzintli, tle yn jlhuj,

ha nelli mach, in tictonenpiquilia in timacchoalti, cuix mo haca quin tlahtcpac mochichioua, ha njmã

3. *Auellan, tzinnacalli calmécatzinco.* In Lib. VI of the *Florentine Codex*, fo. 28b, the phrase *auellan tzinnacalco ayaxic in mixhuiuh*, cf. corresponding Spanish text in Sahagún, Bibliotheca ed., p. 247. Cf. also *tzinpetl* and *tzinpetlan* in Simeon, *op. cit.* Later in the present chapter the passage *Auellan tzinnacalco tzinnacalco tzinnacalco* and it is perhaps permissible to take the two passages as similar. *Tzinnacalli* might have been translated, See Chap. VII.

4. *Quiiolitiloc, quappetlatl.* Cf. Lib. VI, fo. 28*l* r. Corresponding Spanish text in Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 248, reads: ". . . *hay soldados y hombres valerosos de guerra, que sustentan con su defensión.*"

5. *Petlatl, icpalli.* Cf. Andrés de Olmos, *Grammaire de la langue mexicaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1875) pp. 214, 221; Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 113; Simeon, *op. cit.* (*petlatl*).

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ing [our fortune]; from the place of darkness it cometh forth as our property.

"And [as for] this one: may he enter into the service of the god,[6] in the casting to one side [of rubbish], or the task of laying fires. May he pour forth praises to our lord, the shadow and wind.

"May he remain up here in the light with whatever favors he hath come clothed in, with whatever hath been given him, with whatever he hath been adorned in the place of darkness [before all time]. Perchance, in truth, now and here our lord will offer [these] to him. Perchance all will be lost. Mayhap it is our fate and our lot that, perchance, only for a little time the sun may make him grow. Maybe he will arrive to join him. Mayhap he will move and enter into the arms of the sun.[7]

"And how may we now speak and hearten you? We may not say, 'In this wise will this be; this one will be thus; this one will do so; this one our lord will transform, and thus will he be; he will be some-one; he will attain honor; he will walk the earth.'

"And mayhap it will not be our lot and fate that he may live wallowing in dust and filth and living in sin; possibly he may die stoned or cast into a pond; men may mock him for taking after the women of others. Or else he may always be in misery and pain.

"Let us raise and nurture the children; let the word and command to motherhood and fatherhood be given. Perchance in him we may enclose and set in place our hearts; and also you [may do so] whose jewel and precious feather he is.

"And now, may you bring about that, with prayers, weeping, and tears, you may not, being asleep, be neglectful. Call out now in your anguish to the savior and protector of all [that you may learn] what he requireth of us and how he speaketh."

tiquinquitiviçe, ha ajmoan iooxiampa totlaquj onhetiuh.

auh in y, manoço itlan onaquj yn vchpanoaztli in tlacaicuiliztli, in chico tlamocac tlatequiliztli: auh in tletlaliliztli, manoço ixillan iooxcelan onmdmiavi in totecujo, in iooalli yn ehecatl,

ma vncan panj tlaneziam oalmotlali in quenami ynemac, injc mâpantiviz, in quenamj omacoc, injc ochichioalec in iooxjan aço nelle axcan vncan conmaniliz in totecujo, aço inquiizin cõnopolhuiz, azaço tolhujl, acaço tomaceoal a cujx noço vel achiczin qujoallaliz in tonatiuh, cujx noço cazitiz in nepâ Cujx noço vel contlaçaz, vel conaquiz in mavic in tonatiuh.

auh yn axcâ quenami tiquitozque, cujx tamochtoiollalilizque, a cujx toconitozque iuhquj iez, y, iehoatl iez, y, iehoatl qujchioaz, y, iehoatl quicuepaz, y, in totecujo. iuhquj iez. y, hitlatiz, panvetziz, nemiz in tlalticpac.

auh acaço tle tolhujl tomaceoal, aco teuhtli, tlaçolli, ic milacaztotinemiz in tlalticpac, aço teco mjc, tecutic maiavia, at tecue, tevipil tepancanaz quimaviltiz, auh anoço icnoiotl tzupoubqui, cococ qujtatinemjz,

ma titlacazcaltia, ma titlacaoapaoa ma quiça in cemtentli, in cencamatl yn naniotl, in taiotl. Cujx ijtic toocalaquizque, toiollo tocontlalilizque: auh no yui in ticonoque, in tiquetzale.

auh in axca manoçoc ic xonmoietztie in tlatlauhtli, in choquiztli, in ixaiotl ma amonmotlacochcaviliti, ma oc zocõmotlaoculnonochilitinencâ in tloque naoaque, quen techmonequillia, quen quimitalhuja.

6. Polysemantic in the original. Cf. tlachpanoaztli, tlaxicuiliztli, in Lib. VI, fo. 287 r, where the sense is to enter the service of the god or of a noblehouse.

7. Meaning of this passage, as well as others equally figurative, is problematical.

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[p. 52 is blank]

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874 *Fifth Chapter*, which telleth of the customs which they practised and observed in order to live there, where they were reared and ripened [in] the young men's house.

And when he entered the young men's house, then [the leaders] charged him with *sweeping* [of the house] and with the laying of fires. And then they had him begin the penances. When there was singing at night (which was called song with dance), there he consorted with the others, he danced with the others. With the others there was conversation; songs were composed.

And when [he was] yet an untried youth,[1] then they took him into the forest. They had him bear upon his back what they called logs[2] of wood—perchance now only one, or, then, two. Thus they tested whether perhaps he might do well in war when, still an untried youth, they took him into battle. He only went to carry a shield upon his back.

And when [he was] already a youth, if mature and prudent, if he was discreet in his talking, and especially if [he was] of good heart, then he was made a master of youths; he was named *tlacateccatl*. And if he became valiant, if he reached manhood, then he was named ruler of youths (*telpochtlato*). He governed them all; he spoke for all the youths. If one [of them] sinned, this one judged him; he sentenced [the youths] and corrected them. He dealt justice.

874 701 And if he was brave, if he took four [captives], then he attained [the office of] commanding general,[3] general,[4] [or] chief.[5] And also [in those days] one rose to be called constable.[6] Today it is the same, and he is known as *alguazil* [or constable], he who

Injc. 5. capitulo: inchpa tlatoa intlamatiliz, yajc vncan nenca, in quichiosia in quinequipanoaia yn vncā mocalchiaia mocuepaoaia telpochcalli.

Auh in iquac ocalac in telpochcalli, nimoā vel quitequitia in tlachpanalli, in tletlalilitli. auh njmoā compouhtia in tlamacaxalitli: yn iquac cujco icoaltica (in nōjoa: cuicoanolo), vncan tehoan nenj, tehoan mjtoaia, itehoan nōjoa cujcojaiaia.

auh in ie telpochtentli, njmoā quivica in quauhtla, quimamalitia, in quilhuja mimilinhuqui quavitl, aço ça oc centetl, anaço nimoā vncan centetl ic quiçiecoa, yn aço ie vel aciz iaoc, in ie vel telpochtecatentli, quivica in iaoc, ça oc chimalli in quimamatiuh.

auh jn ie vel telpochtli, inela moncalia, inela mimati, in tlaolnelaoac. auh oc cenca ichcauh inela icnoio yiollo, njmoā tachcauhtlalilio, tecuiotilo, Tlachcauh, auh jnela ovelmacic oquichtli, inela oc cenca moncalia, nimoā tecuiotilo Telpochtlato, quiçiecopachoa, quiçecētlatallauja im iaquichtin telpuchtin, in oc tlatlaoa, ichcauh quintecuitequilia, q'intlacotecpuilia, quiçetlatlalilia, quichioa Justicia:

auh inela oquichtli inela navi mimi, vncan quiça in tlacatecatl, in tlacochcalcatl, in quauhtlehua: auh no vncan quiça, in quilhuja achcauhtli, yn axcan ipan povi, ipan mōmati in alguaçil, in tupile, ca no iuuco-

1. Corresponding Spanish text: "*a los quinze años*."
2. *Mandadegas* (*pesant*): literally, "round wood."
3. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, Book II, p. 114, n. 13. The corresponding Spanish text has: "*capitan, y governador al postrero*." Ixtlilxochitl, in *Bibliotheca Mexicana*, p. 343, mentions *tlacatecatl* as head of the *tlacateccan*, and in *Collected Works*, II, Pt. 1, pp. 85-86, describes him as an officer of justice, a messenger, a military captain—offices given for life by the ruler, after which they reverted to the latter. He also says *tlacatecatl* is the exact military subcommander and stands little superior *capitán* in the quarters; *un diputado cerca de cuyo un gobernador que acompañaba en campo de Reyes Romanos, equalle alguazil* (Ixtl., Clav.)."
4. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *loc. cit.* Ixtlilxochitl, in *Bibliotheca Mexicana*, translates as head of the quarter house, and in *Collected Works*, *loc. cit.*, identifies him as the center in the *tlacateccan*. He adds that four chiefs held the highest office, *tlacatecatl* the four main divisions of the Mexican tribe, and formed the king's special council; these were the *cuep cuezcatl*, the *tlacatecatl*, the *chamolcalcatl*, and the *tlilhuan calpixcatl*. Ixtlilxochitl (*op. cit.*) definitely characterized as "*Magistrate, judge or sometimes chief*," and also as "*gobernador, capitanazo*."
5. Ixtlilxochitl (*op. cit.*): "*Un diputado cerca de cuyo un gobernador que acompañaba en campo de Reyes Romanos, equalle alguazil*."
6. Corresponding Spanish text: "*era entonces alguazil, y tenia otros oficios, y prendia a los delinquentes, y los ponia en la carcel*."

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beneath a staff. For also [in times past] they had staves; and formerly these [officers] seized one and thrust one in jail.

pil catca, yoan in ça ie ichoantin in omtelpiaia, in quauhcalco oontlalilaia,

These were all the honors and preferments which the youths [could obtain].

yxquich y, in jnpanemtilia, in inpanechilit in telpupuchti.

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And in this way of life, few shewed understanding and were persevering. Without number were those who were known as young [warriors]. Because in truth the life of the youth was not harsh. For when yet small boys they all slept together in that place which they called the young men's house, where they lived all together.

auh injn nemilianti amo çan quezquichtin in ipan nenca, in ipan mocuepaoaia, amo çã tlapoalti in motocaiotiaia telpupuchti, ipampa ca çan nimã amo tecoco in jnnemilia in telpupuchti, ca in oc pipiltototi, vacan cencochi in quilhuja telpuchcali vncan cemanoque.

And he who was absent, who slept not in the young men's house, him they punished. And they ate in their homes. And they went about together where they had anything to do—perchance [preparing] mud* [for adobes, making] walls, cultivating the soil, [digging] canals; they did these going all together, or they divided up. And they went into the forest, and gathered and carried on their backs what they named torches for the song house.

auh in aquin poliuja, in amo telpuchcalco cochi, quitlamacajtoaia, yoan inchan ontlaqua. auh cemolinhtini in campa tlein quichioa, in aço pololli, tepantli, cuemitl, apantli, quichioa, motequitini, anoço motencuioa. auh quauhtla oj, concuj, conmama in quilhuia cuicatiamilli:

And when only a little sun [was left in the afternoon], they quit whatever they did. Then they prepared and adorned themselves. First they bathed themselves; then they rubbed [black on] themselves, but nop—they say—their faces. Then they put on their neck bands.

auh i ça achi tonatiuh quicaoa in tlein quichioa, njman mocencaoa, muchichioa, achtopa mahaltia, njman mõça, amo no quilhuja in inxuiac nima mocencaoia.

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The [valiant] men and chiefs put on neck bands of large sea shells, or of gold; they put on netted capes and leather corselets.* Then they painted their faces [with black stripes]. It was said, they applied black sweat to themselves. And they painted on iron pyrites. As one's adornment, ear plugs were set in; turquoise ear plugs were worn. Heron feathers were applied; netted capes were worn. This netted cape [was made of] twisted maguey fiber, knotted like a net with small shells [attached]. The chiefs had golden shells in their netted capes. Of the net capes of the shown ones, it was said, "They are provided with fruit." For this reason it was said, "They are provided with fruit"—[that] very large fiber balls hung from them by strings.

Yn oquichtin in tiacauan, vevej chipoli in quimocaxtia, anoço tecujtlaconcatl, motlacuechmanilia, motlacoxcimanilia, njman mjchio, mjtoaia motlilxotia hapeztli ic conpetonja, in joechiol, monacochtia, monixjuhnacochtia, mouxtaia, mechalcacatia, ynjn chalcaiotl tlamalioli in jcpol, tlatlalpid, iuhquin maclatl cillo, in tlaoque teucujtlacillo in jochalcaiouh, in quequechicti inchalcaiouh mjtoa xonocoio, ynjc mjtoa xonocoio, vevey pupul in itech çujpipiloa iepanol,

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When the sun had already set, then they laid a fire [at the place] called the song house. On the hearth the youths laid the fire. When it was already dark, then was begun the singing. Everyone danced

yn iõc ie ceuqui tonatiuh njman tlexoca in quilhuja cujcacalco, tlelquauco in tlellalilia telpupuchti, in ie tlaixmiqui, nimã penolo in cujco, muchi tlacat

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2. The word pehlli, as used elsewhere in Sahagún, appears to mean to make adobes.

3. In *Ensayo Náuatl* (p. 395, n. 1), Rémi offers a variant for [illegible] and [illegible]. Cuechtli and cuetl, however, may be warriors' garments, or have translated.

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until the half division of the night passed, until after midnight.

And in these times they covered themselves with nothing else. All thus danced, wrapped only in netted capes. They went about nearly naked.

When the singing ended, then all dispersed. Next day [was] the same, and the next day the same. They went together to their city quarters; they all went to sleep in their sleeping quarters, in this young men's house.

And the more valiant men, who already were wise in the ways of the flesh, always slept with their paramours.

mjoxcia, inquichica yn oquiz iocalli xelini, yn conquiz [835]
iocalcopantla.

auh njman ainc tle quimakilouia, in inquich ic [842]
nezcitilo, çaçyio in necuiloio chalcuiuil, haçan nel
iuhqui petlauhtiuenca,

yn oquix cuicat, njman cecenmanoa, mantla yui,
mantla yui, in centlaxilacalti, motequitivi vmpa ocochi
in jacochia, inin telpuchcali.

auh in ie vel oquichcin in ie quiximati tlaticpaiuil, [836]
vmpa onocuchi in jnmecaua.

[p.56 is blank]

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Sixth Chapter, in which are related the punishments and penances with which they chastised any youth when he drank wine.

They who were reared in the young men's house took full charge of the sweeping. None then drank wine.

And when already [they were] men, when already they had matured, he who drank wine hid himself well. He concealed himself well, and did not then drink before others; quite secretly and not much did he drink.

And if any youth were seen to drink wine, if it were noted that he was found with wine, [that] perchance he lay fallen, or sang,[1] or [that] somewhere he was seen drunk with others, then because of this [the people] were gathered and rounded up.

And because of this, fear fell [upon all of them]. If he was only a commoner or someone of no importance, he was beaten before the others. He fell under wooden [staves]; he died under wooden [staves].[2] Or he was made to suffer the rope.

And if he was a nobleman's son, they strangled him secretly.

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And these youths had their paramours by twos or threes. Perchance one indeed was in her own house; perchance a number lived in various places. And when, they said, the estate of youth was ended, [the youth] paid something that he might leave the [other] youths. Large capes he left [for them]—perhaps ten or twenty, if he was rich.

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When the masters of the youths had consented,[3] when they had given the youths leave to go, then (it is said) one was of marriageable age. He took only one woman, whom he kept at his home.

And when a youth was mature, not merely of his own will did he depart the estate of youth. He grew old where the youths were. And if he willed, the chief gave him leave [to go].

And not very often from the youths' place [came], perchance, lords; only chiefs, commanding generals, and generals[4] were taken thence. Lords and mar-

Injc. 6. capitvlo: vncan motemoa in tetlatzacuiltilizti, in tetlamaceoaltilizti, ynjc qujntlatzacuiltiaia, in iquac aca telpuchtli tlaoanaia.

Injc nezcaltiloia telpuchcali, cēca necujtlavilo, in nechpanoantli, njman aiac quja in vetli.

auh in je vel oquichti, I ie chicaoaque, cenca vel motlatiaia in quja vetli, cenca motlatiaia, çan njman amo teixpan in quja, vel ichtaca amo no quexq'ch in quja,

auh intla itoia haca telpuchtli tlaoana, in itto in ac vetlica namjco, anoço vetitoc anoço quica, anoço cana teoan tlaoantica itto, njman ica necentlalilo, ica nenechicolo:

auh ica mavizti vetzi, intla çan maceoalli, anoço ça can aquja, teixpan vivitoco, quauhtica vetzi, quauhtica miquj, anoço mecatl quiiecultia.

auh intla tlaçopilli ichtaca qujmecanja:

auh inique y, telpupuchti ohome, ieey in jnmecaoan oncatca, aço oc vel ichā in ca, aço quezquintin chaiaoatoque. auh in iquac quilhuja motelpuchtlali, tlaxtlaoa injc qujntlalcavia in telpupuchti quachtli, quicaoa aço matlactli, aço cemjpilli in mocuiltonoca,

yn oanque in techcaoan in oquimacauhque njmā (mitoa) tlapaliuhcati, ça çe cihuatl conana in ichan quijxia.

auh in moccalia telpuchtli, amo çan moiocoia, in quicaoa telpuchiotl, cenca ſcā veveti in telpuchpan; auh yiolloclama in tlatoanj, qujnaoatia,-

auh amo cenca mjecpa in telpuchpan anoço in tecuti, çā tlatlacatecca, tlatlacochalca, achcacauhti yn

1. *Quizas probablemente cantar la canción. Sobre, la Bibliografía Española, p. 345, traducción del Vocabulario en uso guatemalteco—"una Ebria está Ebrio."*
2. *Sobre, op. cit., p. 346, n. 1, usos de guardianes entre guardianes antiguos: "Parecido uso guardianes tenían, quizás tienen—Salvador, El mercurial."*
3. *Chapter reference to the Real Palacio MS suggests that this should read catlaqui.*
4. *See Chapter V, nn. 3, 4.*

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shals[5] did not attain [their station] there, because the manner of life of the youths was not very good. For they were given to women and were vicious; for they took up pleasantries, they used vain talk, they spoke grossly, loud, and coarsely.

vncan ano, amo tlacatecutli, amo tlacochtecutli vncã quiça, ipampa in amo cenca qualli yn jnocmiliz telpupuchti, cã ipampa cihoa notzaia, avilnemini, ipampa in quimotequitia cacamanalli, ahauillatoa, totoquauhtlatoa, tlatlaquauhtlatoa, quaquauhtlatoa.

5. Of these Sahagún elsewhere says that they were *principales* over soldiers and captains. The *tlacatecatl* was a *pilli* (prince or nobleman); the *tlacochtecatl* was "*principal en las cosas de la guerra*," and Sahagún refers to them as soldiers (Bolaños ed., II, pp. 117-18). Specifically of the *tlacatecatl* he says: "*Tiene autoridad para mandar a los soldados . . . para reprender y castigar porque ya esta en la dignidad y estado, ya tiene el principal lugar, donde le pone nuestro señor; ya le llaman por otro nombre tlacatecatl tlacatecatzintli, por otro nombre le nombran señor los populares*" (*ibid.*, p. 136). Of both officials, he writes: ". . . *el señor es como cabeça del pueblo; uno de ellos era pilli y otro era criado en las guerras. El uno de ellos se llamaba tlacatecatzintli, y el otro tlacochtecatzintli. . . .*" Four personages—*tlacatecatl, tlacochtecatl, tlacatecatl*, and *tlacochtecatl*—"*eran dichos por la semejanza de nuestro señor dios, porque eran más hábiles para ello*" (*ibid.*, p. 138).

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Astec NU7

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Seventh Chapter, in which it is told how the chiefs and noblemen left their children there at the priests' house, and what manner of customs were observed at the place called the priests' house.

Chiefs, noblemen, and others besides who were well born, these same took their sons, and promised them, to the priests' house; and also any others [did so] who wished it.[1]

All became priests—the noblemen because the place of rearing in the priests' house, the school, the place of instruction, [was] a place of chastity, a place of reverence, of reflection, of prudence, of virtue, of righteousness. For then [there was] no filth ĵior vice, nothing blamable in the lives of the priests [and] in the training [given in] the priests' house.[2]

A chief, nobleman, lord, or anyone who was rich, when such vowed to bring his sons [to the priests' house], prepared drink and food. He summoned and assembled the priests, and invited the old priests, and gathered those who were well born.[3] The old men made an entreaty; the old ones besought the priests, and said to them:

"Our lords, priests, you have been pleased to bring yourselves here; you have taken your noble feet [through various places]. Perchance straw or grass you have somewhere touched with your feet; perchance in some place you may have injured or knocked something against your revered feet.

"Our lord hath placed you here. You must know and hear, verily, [that] now our lord, savior and protector of all, hath given one [who is as] a jewel, a quetzal feather.

"We have dreamed; we have quickly arisen. Now, what will the boy, [this] small child, be? Surely we shall not offer him a spindle and a batten. For he is your chattel, your charge. We now pray to the lord Tepilzin, Quetzalcoatl,[4] to him who is feathered in

Inĵc chĉcome capĉtulo: vncan motenoua, yn quenĵn tlatoque, pipilzin quĵmôcaoaia, inpilhoan yn vmpa calmecac, yoan in quenamj tlamanilizti, ynĵc tlamanja in vmpa motenoua calmecac.

In tlatoque in pipilti, yoan in oc cequĵntin vel naoti, vel tati, çan ien vmpa in quĵmaquja in quĵnnetoltia in inpilhoan, yn calmecac: yoan in oc cequĵntin in-aquĵn quinequi,

muchintin tlamacazque muchioa in pipilti ypampa, in neixcalĵoian calmecac, in tenonotzaloia, in teixcaltiloian, chipeoaca nemoouilĵ, necxiiecicoloia, nêmachoia ixtlamachoia, qualtioaia, ieccioaia: çan nĵmâ hatzoio, hatcuhio, atle iniaioca in tlamacazque innemiliz, yn calmecac neoapaoaĵztli,

Jn tlatoanj, pilli, tecutli, yn anoço aca mecuiltonoa in iĵc quinetoltia in caquĵa inpilzin quicencaoa yn atl, in tlaqualli, quĵnnotza quĵacentlalia in tlamacazque, yoan quĵnnotza in quaquacuĵlti, yoã quĵncentlalia yn naoti, yn tati, in vevetque, tlatlatlauhtia in vevetlaca, quĵntlatlauhtia in tlamacazque quimilhuja.

Totecujoouane, tlamacazque, nican anoalmoxicatiaque amoxiizzin anquiualmanilique, aço tlacotl, çacatl cana oanquiualmoxixiamiquilique, aço cana amoxiizzin oanquĵualmocuelhuique, oanquĵualmotecujuilique;

ca njcan anechoualnotlalilia in totecujo, anquĵmocuilia, anquĵmocaquĵltia, a ca nelle, axcan centetl coscatl quetzalli, oquĵmomacuili in totecujo, in tloque nauaque

tiemiqui, ticochitlaoa, a ca nelle axcan tle onier, in piltôtli, in conetontli: cujx malacatl, tzontecpantli, xicmacaxipe, ca xmaxcuzzin, ca xmotlaquiztzin, yn axcan ivicxinco tiquĵtoa in tlacatl in tepiltzin in Quetzalcoatl, in tlilpotonqui, calaquiz in calmecac, in

1. Torquemada, op. cit., p. 22, says they were taken by the educator at the age of four. Clavigero, op. cit., pp. 190, 288, says the age for these entering both the educator and the adjoining was fifteen.

2. Training and standards of conduct were much more rigorous in the educator than in the adjoining. Cf. Cruz, op. cit., p. 54.

Cruz (*ibid.*, pp. 57) points out that all learning was in priestly hands—science, star lore (magic, science, star-reckoning), the calendar (prediction of the future, astrology), mythology, history, hieroglyphic writing, law. These bodies of knowledge may indicate a curriculum for the educator. Nobles also participated in the wars and were the favored educators.

3. *Yc nemi, yn oni*: an alternative meaning could be "those with fathers and mothers." Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 347), translates "Da ganze Verhältnisse sich *begleitenden Männer (und) Väter*."

4. Quetzalcoatl was patron of the educator and of the education of priests and noblemen (Cruz, op. cit., p. 28).

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4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

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black, that he may enter the priests' house, the house of weeping, of tears, and of sadness, where grow and ripen the sons of our lords.

"And there prayers are raised to the savior and protector of all; there he poureth forth prayers to our lord; there he is importuned with weeping, tears, and sighs. There one is given [gifts], and is chosen for him [our lord]. For there we speak in his worthy house—there where [the shell trumpet] is blown, where the fire is bored, where the children of our lords are reared—where there is sweeping, the clearing of trash; where [sin] is put to one side. [This] disposition our lord will bring about.[3]

"In your noble laps, on your revered backs, in your valued protection we place the child. Grant him [your love], for we give you our child. Grant him your love; give him [your protection]. May he be planted here that he may be reared and wax strong; that he may do penances all night and all day, going about on elbow and on knee, calling and crying out to our lord, weeping, sad, and sighing.

"This is all which you have been caused to know and to hear, O priests."

Behold how the priests responded and replied:

"Here we have taken and received your valued spirit and words. Although we are unworthy, although we do not deserve it, although we do not merit it, your valued spirit and words have come forth [telling] how and why you are anguished over your jewel, your quetzal feather. But we only hear [on behalf of] our lord Topiltzin, Quetzalcoatl, of him who is feathered in black. What will he require of your jewel, your quetzal feather? What will he wish of you? What will become of your jewel and quetzal feather?

"Without doubt we would be foolish [to say] that thus this [is], that this one [is] thus. Let us all trust in our lord, savior and protector of all. What will he wish of us? Let us put our trust in him."

choquizcalí, in jxuiocalí, in thecuicalli, in vncan incalitlo, cupatolo in tetecujocan in tepilhoá.

auh in vncan tlatlanililo, in ihoque nacoque, in vncan ixilli, ioccatlac mamaiococ in ichoutzin tetecujo, in vncan tlamacaxquililo, in choq'xtica, in jxuiotic-in-chicuilistica: auh in vncan motlamamaquilia, in vncan motepepenilia in ichoutzin, ca vmpa tocoviloa in ichantzinco, in vncí pizcalo, mamaiococ in incalitlo i tetecujocan, in tepilhoan, in vncan ochpoxcatli, tlacuiculiztli, chico tlamacac, tlatequilitli quimochivilitiz in tetecujo:

amocuecuextzinco, amoteputzinco, amomamalhoatzinco, tocuitlalia, manoço tlacaxe in amoiolletzin, ca tamechcococmaquilia, ma tlacaxa yn amoiollotzin ma xiqualmanilican, ma quimonoco, ma quimonocho, in incalitlo, in cupatolo, in tlamacaxa incocioal, cemilhuitl, in jmolicpiztzin, in jxuiotepostzin ic tlacçatiuj in quimotochilia, in quimotzatzilia in tetecujo, in choca, in thiocuia, in ticicivi;

ca inquijch y, anquimocujlia, anquimocaquijtia tlamacaquoche.

Jacatepi, injc tlamaquililaia, ynjc quicuepoia tlatolli in tlamacaque.

Ca njcan tonocuj tocoxaxa in amihjotzin, in amotlaolotzi ma çi tehuan tiotzi, ma ticcolhuitocuti, ma tictomactocuti, in njcan onhquiça in amihjotzin, in amotlaolotzi injc ica, injc ipampa, amonotlamachitia, in amocoxqui, in amoquetzal, ca çan ticcrlacaquililia in tetecujo in tepiltzin in Quetzalcoatl, in tlilpotonqui anca quen quimocaquililia, in amocoxqui, in amoquetzal. auh anca quen amechmonequilitia ya amehoantin, anca quenami ica, in coxtl, in quetzalli,

auch ?:amocuicuilhoiaque in ma inhqui, y, in ma ichoual, y, ma ticmomacmachilicá in tetecujo, in ihoque nacoque, quen techmonequilitia, ma oc tehcocomachica,

3. Mention of the promotion of the god and the priests, and of suggested rewards, is probably a reference to the fact that from the reformers among the priesthood and high military, administrative, and judiciary officials (ibid., pp. 52 ff.). Durán (op. cit., pp. 134-9) writes: "Los regentes mayores de Tenochtitlan les dieron por la aplicada diligencia al aquellarde de donde dispuso de hacer corrida en los templos una gran mezquita y penitencia y recomendaciones en ciertos sacrificios los ancianos a Huitzilopochtli y cargos honrosos en las repúblicas que oy en día tienen entre ellos dichos sumo dioses y sacerdotes que habitaban en nuestro templo y regían el templo y recomendado a los hijos y oy en día se les hace a estos dichos sacerdotes dioses o sacerdotes ofrendas a quienes se, pues con ellos se celebraban los cantos y se tocaban los instrumentos y cantaban se llamaban a los cantadores y jueces. Los cuyos días el cantador y cantores dentro en nuestro templo cuyo cual el cuyano cuando que los cantadores que en cumplimiento dieron gran descanso de un cual cumplimiento así y de nuestros cuidados cuyo cuyo pasaron en aquellos Huitzilopochtli dispuso de hacer penitenciales y templos y Dios y servicio a los quales quando los dioses cuyo dignidades y recomendaron hacían nuestros cuidados cuyo cuyo cual cuyo cuyo cuyo

Then they bore the child to the temple. The parents carried paper and incense. Chiefs or noblemen [took] brioch cloaks, capes, precious neck bands, quetzal feathers, and green stones, which they offered as gifts. The poor took only [their] paltry papers and incense, or sweet smelling herbs, which they used as their gifts.

When they had taken [the children] there, they then anointed them with black; they covered their faces well with a black paste. They then gave them neck bands of the roots of the birchwort.[6] A poor [child] they only provided a neck band of loose cotton. Then they cut his ears and cast the child's blood before the image of the devil. If he was yet a small child, then the parents took him [away]. If he was a chief's son, they left his neck band there at the temple; the priest took it away.

Then [the priests] taught him all the manner of living and rules by which they lived in the priests' house.

Niman quivica in piltzintli in teupan, amatl, copalli in quiquj in pilhuaque, in tlacoque zaqco papaltzi, maxtlatl, tilmatli, cuecuel, quetzalli chalchiuitl, in quiuecchiuaia. Yn jxcoxlacatl çan amatzintli, copaltzintli, zaqco yiauhtli in quiquj in jnvecc mochiua,

yn occoviacaque, njman coliça tlilixca, vel quintlilpopoxtia, njman tlacopatli quiconcatia, yn jxcoxlica çan ixquich poxoquj quiconcatia, njnal quinacaztequi, conclatlatilia in ixtipla Diablo in ixnio pilhuitl, intla oc piltzintli oc quivica in pilhuaque, intla tlacoxnj ipiltzin, ixcoquj vmpa c..xcoxia in teupan, conaxa in tlamacazqueque,

njman quimachtia yn ixquich nemiliztli, njc neixcuitlahuiltiaia in tlacopantli.

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6. Aristolochia sericea (Illustr. op. cit.).

[p. 62 is blank]

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Eighth Chapter, which telleth of the way of life which they kept in the priests' house, where lived or were reared the fire priests and [other] priests.

First: All the priests slept there in the priests' house.

Second: It was required that everyone should sweep when it was well before dawn.

Third: Those already grown, already [more] hardy, then went to seek *magüey* thorns. They said, they pruned the *magüey* thorns.

Fourth: When they were already novice priests of whatever kind, they went forth when it was still night, or when midnight had passed; they started to go to the forest in order to gather and carry upon their backs wood which they called logs. This they burned all night in the priests' house as the priests kept watch.[1] And if anywhere mud [for adobes], a wall, cultivation of the soil, or a canal were to be undertaken, all went forth just before dawn. Those who guarded [the house] were left [behind], as well as those who would go to serve the food. They went in a group. None failed. In good order they passed the whole day.

Fifth: A little before they ceased their work, they went to see to the god's affairs, the duties in the priests' house, and the penances. When still a little sun [shone], or when it was already becoming dark, [this was the time which] was called the cutting of *magüey* spines. When it was quite dark, when it was already deep night, then the priests began what was called the placing of the *magüey* spines. One at a time they went forth. First [each] bathed himself. Then they took [their] shell trumpets, and incense ladles, sacks filled with incense, and they took up pine torches. Thereupon [each one] set forth to place the *magüey* thorns. They went naked. Those who would perform great penances[2] might go as far as two leagues to place the *magüey* spines—perchance

Injc chicuey capitulo: yeccpa tlatoa, in semilaliti, in mopiaia Calmecac, yn vncan nenca maçoço muncalitiaia tlenamacaq yoan tlamacazque.

Injc omclamantli. yn vnpa calmecac mochinti vnpa cochi in tlamacazque.

Injc. ij. muchiua mochi tlacat, tlachpana in vel oc ioua.

Injc. 3. iá ie tlica, in ie chicactoconti, njman vih in quitemoaque in vieztli, in quitoa vitztlapanaque.

Injc. 4. in ie vel tlamacazcoton, in çan oço ie quenamique, oc iouan, inoço ioualnepantla oonquiz, in onpeoa quaubtla vih, in quavitl concuj conmama, in quilhuja mimiliuhqui, in coioual quitlatia calmecac ynjc tlapia tlamacazque. auh intla cana *p*doili, tepantli, cuemitl, apantli, muchioua, vel oc ioua in vilca, mocauhtivi in tlapiazque: auh njman ie ichoantin in tetlamacativi, ololiuhtivi, aiac polivi, vellatzpanpa in quizliçaia cemilhuitl.

Injc. 5. çan cuel in quicaoa, in tlatequipanoliztli quioalmati, yn intetequjuh in calmecac tequjti, in tlamacoaliztli; yn oc achi tonatiuh, inoço ie tlapoiaoztiuh mjtoa vitztequi, yn ovellaiouac, in ie tlaquauhioca; njmã onpeoa, in tlamacazque in mjtoa, moviztlalizque, ça vel cecenque in vih, achcopa maholtia, niman concuj in teccizti, yoá tlemaiti, toxiti, copalli outentiuh, yoan concuj ocuti, njmã ie ic vnpeoa in moviztlalitiuh, petlotiuh, in canca vel motlamaoaltia aço one leguas in ovih moviztlalia, aço quaubtla, aço iztlaoacan, aço atlan yn tejcocototon, in inoço aquja quinequi, aço media legua, in iauh in onmo-

1. Torquemada (op. cit., p. 337) writes: "Assi Sahahun, que subian los sigillos de la noche, antes que los Trompas, y Cornetas de los caracoles de los Calles y Cantones. Estos subian por sus quarteles, y barrios, acordandoles, acabado el silencio de su sigillo, y cada. Estos subian desde la primera noche, hasta las diez, antes buena noche; y tambien antes, acordaban en la cela, antes, hasta las tres de la madrugada; y à estas ocasiones antes hasta el dicho, los sigilos eran despiertar à los Sacerdotes, y Ministrantes, los que subian en los Templos, para que acudiesen à los Sacrificios, y buena ocurrencia. Los de las correspondias, à los de la Republica, para los oficios, cumplieron cumplan obligados. Tenian tambien cuidado estos Pajes de salgar al Pueyo de los braseros, para que siempre ardiesen, y nunca se apagasen. Y à este Pelo llamaban Intepeuhtlili, que quiere decir Pelo."

2. The context of this passage suggests that mortification might better read mortification. Otherwise this passage in some not mortification might be rendered "Indeed whom[] one was much frightened."

into the forest, or on the desert, or into the water. A younger one, or whosoever wished, went perhaps half a league to place the quiots. [The penitent] bore his shell trumpet and went blowing [it] where he placed the thorns. Wherever he came to be, he went blowing a trumpet.

Sixth: When the priests slept, no two lay [together]. All lay quite separate. None were covered together.

Seventh: The food they prepared for themselves, together; for it was their own food which they ate. And if anyone returned with food from his house, he ate it not alone.

Eighth: At midnight, when, as was said, night divided in half, everyone arose and prayed. If anyone failed to do so because he slept, if he did not awake, then, for this, all gathered together and drew blood from his ears, or his breast, or his thighs, or the calves of his legs. Because of this, fear verily fell [upon the people].

Ninth: None then were proud; none then were unruly. All lived well ordered [lives]. If at times it appeared that one perhaps drank wine, or was given to women, or committed a great [fault], then they went to apprehend him. No mercy was shown. He was burned, or strangled, or cast into the fire alive or shot with arrows. And if he sinned only lightly, they drew blood from his ears, his flanks, or his thighs with maguey spines or with a [sharpened] bone.

Tenth: The small boys were so raised that if they did nothing of great evil, they then drew blood from their ears, or wrinkled them with nettles.

Eleventh: At midnight the principal [priests] went down into the water and bathed there in the water.

Twelfth: When it was a time of fasting, everyone observed it. Verily, [only] at the moment when midday arrived did indeed all eat—even the small boys. And when it was the fast which they name Atamalqualo, then they ate but sparingly.[a] Some ate [only] at midnight and yet again went to eat at midnight; some ate at noon, and yet again went to eat at noon. No chili, no salt did they eat; neither, that they might sleep, [did they] even [drink] water. They said that the fast was broken if they ate or drank even a little.

Thirteenth: Very carefully were they taught good discourse. If one spoke not well, if one greeted others

Jnjc. 6. ynjc cochia tlamaxcaque, ainc vnac tzmj, çan mochintin, mixcivinoque, ainc monequan tlapactia.

Jnjc. 7. çan mocenchioaia in tlaqualli, in quiquaia, ca onca[n]ca in jnnculhia, in quiquaia, nah intla hacu conmacaia ical itlaqual amo yioca conqua.

Jnjc. 8. in iooalnepantla in iquac mjtoa iocalli xellivi, mochi tlacatl mcoaia tlatlatlauhtiaia, yn aquje tlacochcaua, yn amo hiça njman ica necentlalilo, qujçoçoia ynacaztitech, yciqua[n], ynetzqua[n], itlanixco vel ica mavixtli vetzi.

Jnjc. 9. çã njmã ainc [illegible]mecuenoviaia, ça njman ainc mocuecuetzoaia, vellitiçpanpa yn nemoaia, intla ça [illegible] quenman necia aço vetli qui, aço cioanenca, in anoço itla vej quichioa, njman quitzacutivia, amo tlaculiloia, tlacujlolo, anoço mecanilo, anoço tlecujlolo ioiohoc, anoço mimino, yn çan tepiton quiclacoa quiçoçoa yn inacaxco, in jiomotla in imetzpa, vitztica, anoço omijca.

Jnjc. 10. in pipiltotonti ic oqueollo, çan njman ade vel conitlacoa, njman quinçoçoa in inacaxco, anoço quinvitznicaxvia.

Jnjc. ii. in iooalnepãtla aquenmoia in ic tuchcaca, atli tzoalhuia.

Jnjc. 12. ya iquac onca[n]ca neçaoalistli, vel nauhtin quipiaia, vel iquac ya oacic nepantla tonatiuh tlaquaia vel nauhtin in pipiltotonti. nah in iquac onca[n]ca neçaoalistli in quilhuja xtamalqualo, njmin amo tlapaloa, cequjzcan iooalnepãtla in tlaquaia, oc no iooalnepãtla in tlaquatiuh cequjzcan nepantla tonatiuh in tlaqua, oc no mumula nepantla tonatiuh in tlaquatiuh, ade chilli ade istaxl quiquaia, amo yh ic cochi in mjquel atl, quinoa monequanelhujlaqui intla itlatoa cioque, conj.

Jnjc. 13. cenca vel nemachtilloia in yquali tlacatl,

a. "Thirdly, at which it was said at noon and perhaps, quickly consumed" (Dibble, op. cit.).

4: Sahagún M-S (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

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no. well, then they drew blood from him [with maguey spines].

Fourteenth: Carefully were they taught the songs which they called the gods' songs. They were inscribed in the books. And well were all taught the reckoning of the days, the book of dreams, and the book of years.

Fifteenth: A strict vow of the priests was [that of] chastity, of a pure life. In no wise were they to look upon a woman.[1] A strict vow of theirs was [a life of] moderation. Name them told lies. The priests were very devout. They were very god-fearing.

Now enough of this. Here is told the way of life of the priests. Much else, which is left [untold] must [yet] be related. [This] will be told in another place.

in oqqiz omo velloma, in omo vel tetlapalos nijman quiçaya.

Jnjc. 14. vel nemachtilois in cujcatl in quilhuja tocuicatl, mixtamatca. Yoan vel nemachtilois in tonalpoalli in temjxamatl, yoan in xiuhmatl. [533]

Jnjc. 15. in tlamacazque vel ixnextil catca in nepiloznli, in chipiuaca nemilizli, in acan quimaxque cihuatl, vel ixnextil catca in tlaxicuecuelizli, nijman-ninc inlacaztia, vel tlacemanalj, catca in tlamacazque, vel teuimacaçini catca, [589]

çan ceuel inq'ch, y, nican ommixa, in jxcuxmilis catca tlamacazque, oc nijnc in mocaua in jxnixuia monequj vecil nimo.

1. Probably a file of celibacy is not to be understood. Cf. Charles E. Dibble, Códice Matritense de la Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 1954, p. 70, fol. V, and elsewhere for examples of nocturnal pollutions.

[p. 66 is blank]

4: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Astec NU7

793 Ninth Chapter: here is told how were established and chosen the high priests, the Quetzalcoatl priests, the first of whom was [named] Totec Tlamacazqui and the second Tlaloc Tlamacazqui;[1] and [how] these whom they set up were especially wise and prudent.

And one who had distinguished his way of life and otherwise [had followed] the precepts and ordinances of the priests, this one was set apart and chosen, to be made a keeper of the god.[2] The chief, and the great judges,[3] and all the nobles chose him and gave him the name of Quetzalcoatl. There were two Quetzalcoatl priests: one was called Totec Tlamacazqui, one was called Tlaloc [Tlamacazqui].

The Quetzalcoatl priest [called] Totec Tlamacazqui was dedicated to Uitzilopochtli; the Tlaloc was dedicated to the lord of Tlalocan, the [god of] rain. These [were] exactly equal [in station].

555 793 And although he might be poor, or miserable; though his mother and father might be the poorest of the poor, if he well ordered his life and [kept] the commandments of the priests, he was taken to be named this Quetzalcoatl priest. He was called either Totec Tlamacazqui or Tlaloc.

No lineage was considered; only a good life was noted. One was sought of saintly life, of righteous life; of pure heart, good, and humane; who was resigned; who was firm and tranquil; a peace-maker, constant, resolute, brave; caressing, welcoming, and friendly to others; who was compassionate of others and wept for them; who had awe in his heart. He was called divine of heart, pious, god-fearing—one who wept, who was sad, who sighed.

793 And when he began this [training], he was still called an acolyte; then a priest; then a fire priest[4]—already due reverence. Then from these were chosen those named Quetzalcoatl priests.

Inic chicuuacj capitulo: vncan motenoa yn quenin mottalitain pepenaloia in vevej tlamacazque in quoquetzalcoa, ynic ce totec tlamacazqui, ynic ome tlaloc tlamacazqui, oc cẽca machiqui ichcauh quimtlalia in vel intlamatzque mouicaliani.

Auh in aquin vel quimonemilitia, y, ynan in oc cequi in jnnacauil tlamacazque, yn jnnemilix, ichcauh ano, ichcauh pepenalo, in tetzpixqui machioa, quippena in tlatoani yoã in tecutlatoque, ynan machiotin in tlatoque, Quitlaocacoiotia Quetzalcoatl: vmentin in quetzalcoa, oc itoca totec tlamacazqui, oc itoca tlaloc,

in quetzalcoatl totec tlamacazqui itech povia in Vitzilobuchtli, in tlaloc itech povia in tlalocan tecutli, yn quijavitl, ynique, y, çan vel nencuhque,

auh in manel motolinja, in manel icnotlacatl, in manel quicẽttacuj icnotlacatzintli, ynlitzin, ytaztzin, intla ic vel quichios, in jnnemilix, yn jnnacauil, tlamacazque ichcauh ano, ichcauh quetzalcoatl tocaiotilo, ayo totec tlamacazquj, anoço tlaloc motocaiotia,

amo tlacamecaiotl motta ça qualnemiliztli, vel ic motta, vel ic motemoa. in qualnemilice, in iecnemilice, in chipeoac yiollo, in qualli yiollo, in jcnoioyiollo, in tlapaccaihjoviani, in tlatepitzviani, in tlaiolicviani, in ilmo mocivjani, in iollochicaoac, in iollootl, yn iollochichic, in tepepeptlanj, in temacochoanj, in tetlaçotlanj, in teixcoculiani, in teca chocanj, ymauhquj yiollo, in mjtoa teutl yiollo, in tlatematini, in tzninacacinj, in chocanj, in tlaocuianj, in tlcicivinj;

Auh injc oalpeoa y, oc itoca tlamacazqui, njman ic tlamacazqui, njman ic tlenamacac, ic mavizti, y, njmã ic vncan ano, y, in mjtos quetzalcoatl.

1. "El nombre de Quetzalcoatl [sic] daba a entender, a por ventura del dios que se consideraba que los sacerdotes tenian el oficio del sacerdocio" (Cano, op. cit., p. 45). Intermediary offices between these high priests and the lower hierarchy are given briefly in ibid., pp. 47f.; see also Torquemada, op. cit., pp. 175f. The responsibilities of various functionaries are also suggested in the Appendix of Book II of Sahagún, but which cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book II, pp. 190ff. Torquemada, op. cit., pp. 221-2, mentions only one Quetzalcoatl priest: "Tenian un Sacerdote en su Convento, que se llamaba del nombre de su Dios, Quetzalcoatl, el qual estaba cuydo sobre su guarda, y doctrina, reformando la relajada, y corrompida los sacerdotes, y hombres particulares."

2. The terms of employed are teuil (god) and pia (guard). Cf. Simeon, op. cit. The dictionaries define the term as priest.

3. Translation: Sahagún describes them as "los mayores jueces . . . entre consultados con gran diligencia los nombre que ellos a su manera"; on the death of chiefs, they were among the electors of a new one (Sahagún, Bancroft ed., II, pp. 318, 321).

4. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., Book II, p. 78, n. 7.

793 And this priesthood lived in moderate circumstances and followed a distinguished way of life. For rather severe was the life of the priests.

Thus was the manner of rearing of the priesthood distinct from that of the young [warriors].

Auh yeiyn tlamacaxtiaiel, çaçan velli, çaçan qualli yn ipan nenca, in quimocuitlahuiaia, ipampa yn achi ovi, yn nemilizti cauca tlamacaxtiqui:

çan vncan xcimilcauca yn nenpouallizti, tlamacaxtiaiel, telpuchtiaiel.—/—